

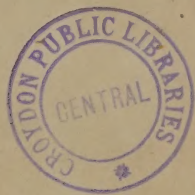
THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XLVIII.—1892.



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PREFACE.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains a considerable number of papers read at the past Congress held at YORK in 1891, and during the recent sessions in London. It is illustrated with a variety of drawings, tables, and plans connected with the descriptions which they accompany ; and the kind liberality of some of the friends of the Association has enabled the volume to be more fully illustrated than it could otherwise have been.

We are also able to introduce into this volume, for the first time, a practicable and useful result of the Congress of Archæological Societies with which this Association is confederated, in the form of two Reference Indexes—(1), to Archæological Papers published in 1891 ; and (2), to published Parish Registers. These may be retained in our volume where they are now placed, or reserved for continuations of a similar nature, which will make a separate volume hereafter. Their bibliographical utility as works of reference will be very apparent, and

they form a welcome pendant to the general Proceedings of British Antiquarian Societies.

The Association has to deplore the death of two very active Members during the past year. In Mr. Thomas Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., and Honorary Treasurer, was found a genial friend as well as a keen student in Romano-British history and mediæval literary antiquities. In Mr. J. W. Grover, V.P., F.S.A., whose researches pointed very much in the same direction, the Members possessed one whose judgment in relation to the studies he pursued was always listened to with approbation and respect.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

32 Sackville Street, W.

31 December 1892.

British Archaeological Association.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.
2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.¹

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or, in his absence, by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.
3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

¹ This rule was carried subsequently to the taking of the ballot for officers of the session 1892-3, at the Annual Meeting, 4 May 1892.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates ; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.
5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association ; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.
 3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.
 4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.
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British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1891-92 are as follow:—1891, Nov. 18, Dec. 2. 1892, January 6, 20; Feb. 3, 17; March 2, 16; April 6, 20; May 4 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 18; June 1.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at			Under the Presidency of
1844	CANTERBURY	.	THE LORD A. D. CONYNTHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845	WINCHESTER	.	
1846	GLOUCESTER	.	
1847	WARWICK	.	
1848	WORCESTER	.	
1849	CHESTER	.	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	.	
1851	DERBY	.	
1852	NEWARK	.	
1853	ROCHESTER	.	
1854	CHEPSTOW	.	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT	.	
1856	BRIDGWATER AND BATH	.	
1857	NORWICH	.	
1858	SALISBURY	.	
1859	NEWBURY	.	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1860	SHREWSBURY	.	
1861	EXETER	.	
1862	LEICESTER	.	
1863	LEEDS	.	
1864	IPSWICH	.	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1865	DURHAM	.	
1866	HASTINGS	.	
1867	LUDLOW	.	
1868	CIRENCESTER	.	
1869	ST. ALBAN'S	.	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY
1870	HEREFORD	.	
1871	WEYMOUTH	.	
1872	WOLVERHAMPTON	.	
1873	SHEFFIELD	.	
1874	BRISTOL	.	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1875	EYESHAM	.	
1876	BODMIN AND PENZANCE	.	

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 LLANGOLLEN . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.
1889 LINCOLN . .	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890 OXFORD . .	
1891 YORK . .	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.

1892.

THE ANNUAL CONGRESS

WILL BE HELD THIS YEAR AT

C A R D I F F.

(See *Wrapper*, p. 4.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1891-2.

President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

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C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

J. EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., P.S.A.

A. W. FRANKS, Esq., C.B., M.A., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.

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REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.

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GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

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ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.G.S., 2 Langham Chambers,
Portland Place, W.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W.

Honorary Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum, W.C.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., 36 Great Russell Street, W.C.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.

Council.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

R. BAGSTER, Esq.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.

ALGERNON BRENT, Esq., F.R.G.S.

R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,

F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., F.S.A.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq.

A. G. LANGDON, Esq.

J. T. MOULD, Esq.

A. OLIVER, Esq.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.

R. RABSON, Esq., B.A.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

R. E. WAY, Esq.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

Auditors.

O. MARRIAGE, Esq.

J. H. MACMICHAEL, Esq.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1892.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

*The letter L denotes Life-Members, and C, Congress Members
for the Year.*

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.

PRESIDENT.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association,

MARCH 1892.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.,

AT YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 17TH, 1891.

It seems to me that there can probably scarcely be, in the whole of the country, a more appropriate place for the gathering of the Archæological Association than the City of York. The City of York has played, as we all know, a great part in our history from the earliest times. You will, in the course of your researches here, be led to observe and investigate those Roman remains in which York is rich, and thus will be recalled to your recollection the signal fact that it was in York that the first Christian Emperor of Rome, Constantine, took the purple on the death of his father. I believe I am not wrong in saying that the walls of the city are among the most complete of the ancient fortifications of any town in the country, and exhibit in great perfection the successive periods of fortification to which they belong. Then, when you have satiated your eyes and filled your minds with the recollection of Rome and with the fortifications of the Middle Ages, you will be called to visit the beautiful remains—too limited, alas! but beautiful—of the Abbey of St. Mary's, the famous Benedictine Abbey of York, which has been the mother of other abbeys, and which will, I am confident, attract your greatest interest. Last, but foremost in your minds, I am sure, at the present time, is the great and

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splendid Minster, which is the jewel of the city, and of which all Yorkshiremen are so justly proud. Englishmen are full of admiration for their ancient cathedrals. I desire to institute no comparisons between the cathedrals of England and of other lands, but, if I were to speak the truth in regard to my own opinion, I should probably be forced to say that in some respects the cathedrals of France surpass those of this country. But whatever may be the beauties which attach to the French churches, none will deny that we have among us some of the most beautiful monuments of mediæval architecture, and that none of them can surpass, if any can rival, the famous Minster of York.

I tender to you my best thanks for the honour you have done me in choosing me to be your President for this year. I know very well that I am little worthy of filling that office from any intimate or extended acquaintance with archæology in its general sense; but at least I may claim to have the deepest interest in researches of that kind, and especially in those which are connected with the great county to which it is my happiness to belong. I do not feel that I am qualified, by study or by knowledge, to put myself in the position of a teacher of archæological science to the members of the British Archæological Association, and I think it will be more becoming if I confine myself to drawing your attention to a few points connected with the investigations of the coming week. I have pointed out some of the objects of interest which you will visit while you are in York, and it seems to me that the next branch of archæological investigations to which you will be likely to give yourselves in Yorkshire is the examination and study of our great Cistercian monasteries. They are very numerous in this county; they have played a great part in the history of our land; and their remains are still attractive by their beauty and interest, and by the questions which they raise.

It has been determined to visit three of these Abbeys—Rievaulx, Fountains, and Byland. A very admirable selection has been made. These three specimens will bring before your minds all the characteristics of the Cistercian monastery, and many of those striking beauties

peculiar to the houses of the Cistercian Order at the end of the eleventh century. Rievaulx is the first in date by one year: it was founded in 1131; Fountains followed in 1132; and Byland was founded in 1143. You will have, therefore, ample opportunity of comparing the three buildings and of marking their differences, and also of marking that which in the Cistercian abbeys is much more observable, namely, their resemblances. As you are probably all aware, the Cistercian abbeys are built on one plan, and therefore you know in each building the positions which particular portions occupied; if you can know them in one, you can lay your finger upon them in the others which you may visit. That is, unhappily, not altogether the case in regard to Fountains, and those interested in that abbey have suffered a great deal in regard to that question from the researches of archæologists.

When I was young, we thought we knew all about Fountains, and were able to give the proper names, as we believed, to every portion of the ruins; but successive flights of archæologists have descended upon us, and each flight has given a new name to parts of that building. I did hope that in my old age I should get to know all about it, and that I should be thoroughly acquainted with the real purposes of different parts of the abbey; but I am a little alarmed lest on Thursday next you rename some part of the edifice. If you are pleased to do that, I shall abide by your decision, and in future adopt your nomenclature. When you visit Fountains, I hope you will remember that its mother-abbey is that of St. Mary's, York, it having been founded by thirteen monks of St. Mary's, who were dissatisfied with the state of discipline that existed there at that time, and who, seeking for greater severity of life, and being desirous of devoting themselves to their holy duties in a stricter form, went forth into the desert of Fountains and founded that monastery.

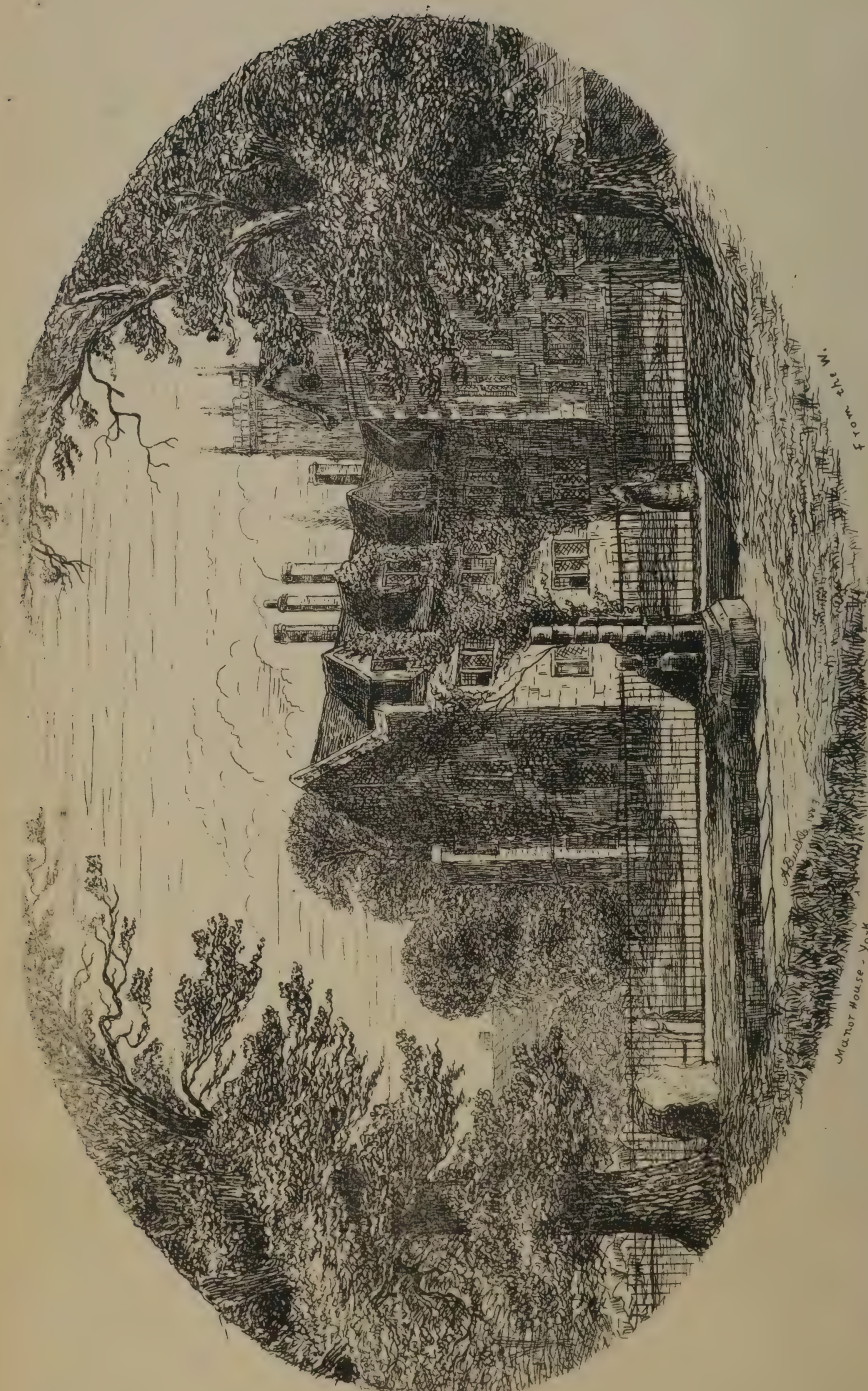
With respect to the good choice shown by the monks in the selection of sites, I do not think these sites were chosen for their picturesqueness; but the abbeys certainly have been placed in some of the most picturesque spots of the country. When you have seen Rievaulx,

Fountains, and Byland, you will have seen only a small part of the abbeys of Yorkshire. There are many others of great interest, such as Kirkstall, Jervaulx, Roche, Easby, and others, which will give you some idea of the extent of the monastic buildings in this county. You are not going to see many of the great castles of Yorkshire, which have a very distinct interest, such as Middleham; but there are spots which you will pass when journeying on the railway which are full of interest and beauty. I hope that, when on the way from York to Ripon, you will cast your eyes over Marston Moor, the site of a great battle of two-and-a-half centuries ago, and that you will not forget to look at that most picturesque scene from the railway-bridge at Knaresborough. Then, beginning with the minster, you are going to visit churches in actual use, but which contain many reminiscences of the past. If I may allude to Ripon Cathedral, I may say that it possesses many points of interest, both on account of its architectural features and its history. Ripon is connected with St. Wilfred, who flourished in the seventh century, and you will therefore be carried far back into the history of our land. You are going to see Selby Church, which, I believe, was founded by William the Conqueror, and is a church of many attractions. Thence you will proceed to Howden, where there is one of the most beautiful churches in our country, now used as a parish church. You will see that in this part of Yorkshire, within reasonable distance of this great capital of the county, we can show our visitors many things which are not unworthy of their attention. In regard to the objects of the Association, I believe the study of archæology, using the word in its widest and most comprehensive sense, to be a study full of the deepest interest; it brings before us in succession all the most beautiful buildings of our country; it takes us into some of the most beautiful scenery which the country can afford; it presents to us, in various aspects and forms, and under different circumstances, the works of man of all descriptions; and it recalls in the liveliest manner recollections of great men. We can all read of the great men of the past, and can get from our histories a good idea of their

life and of their character; but a distinct class of feelings arise in our minds when we are actually on the spot on which these men dwelt, in which they worked, in which their great deeds were accomplished—when we see books which they have handled, or garments which they have worn—we have then a more real, close, and lively comprehension of their existence, and a better understanding of their lives.

The details of archæological investigation help to bring before us all the past history of our country; and such associations as are afforded us of the lives of our forefathers must have many strong attractions, and especially so to the minds of those who may be worried by the trials of actual life, and the difficulties with which they are daily surrounded. It would be an error, and a serious disparagement of archæological studies, if we overlook their practical utility for the purposes of our time, and the conduct of our lives. If these investigations were purely antiquarian, without any application to the days in which we live, they might be deserving of the carping criticisms which from time to time have been directed against them; but I hold very strongly that those criticisms are unjust, because to studies of this kind are greatly due our better understanding of the past, and greater justice to those who dwelt in olden times. If there is any distinction more than another between the present—and shall I say the eighteenth century?—it is, I think, to be found in the greater appreciation, and the wider and juster understanding, of past times, and especially of the Middle Ages. If we look at the writings of a century ago, all these beautiful buildings, not omitting York Minster itself, were considered to be hideous monuments of a barbaric time, and for anybody to examine them, and to care about them, or the times in which they were erected, was altogether an insane proceeding. I believe that change is greatly due—not exclusively, no doubt—to the spread of archæological investigations, and the greater realisation of what has been the life of the past which those investigations have brought home to us. If that be true, these studies have had for us a great and permanent benefit, because they have taught us to understand out of what it is

that the time in which we live has grown. We have often been told to study history, because it teaches by experience, and there is much truth in the saying; but at the same time men may often go wrong in their judgment of current events, if they think they can apply directly the exact lessons which the history of times different from their own teaches them. I think it is a good thing that in these days the first and foremost aim in the pursuit of history is to bring before us such a picture of the past that we may understand how the present has come about. All history is really one. We all talk about ancient history, mediæval history, and modern history; but all these lines are imaginary and artificial. There is but one history from the earliest times down to the present, the history which has grown up gradually from century to century. The future is the product of the past and the present. Therefore, any science which enables men better to understand what has gone before, and out of what it is that their own times have grown, must have a very valuable teaching, not only for men of science, but for public men—for the politician and for the statesman. If ever there were a country in which archæological studies might well be pursued, that country seems to me to be our own. I look upon it as singularly fortunate that the English people have had no violent severance in their history. However different these days of railways, telegraphs, manufacturing industries, and democratic institutions may be from the days of Cistercian abbeys and feudal tenures, they are the outcome of the olden times, and we cannot understand them aright, nor act wisely in them, unless we know from what they have sprung.



W. H. W. 1842

McTear House - York

A CENTURY IN THE KING'S MANOR AT YORK.

BY A. BUCKLE, B.A.

(Read during the Congress at York.)

THE hundred years, which I have undertaken to speak of, in connection with the Manor House, or "King's Manour", as originally named, were eventful years for the house in regard to its structure ; and eventful ones, indeed, in the history of our land, when we remember they comprised part of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, James I, and the unfortunate Charles I.

This palace of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs was originally the palace of the mitred Abbot of St. Mary's. Abbot Sever or Sevyer, who died in 1502, is the last one who is supposed to have taken part in the structure of the palace ; very little of his work remains.

When, in 1538, the Abbey of St. Mary was suppressed, the Abbot's house was not dealt with, as was usual in such cases, viz., handed over, with the demesne, to some royal favourite, but was retained by the Crown, and remained in the possession of the Crown for a period of three hundred and fifty years, until purchased in 1888 by its present owners, the Trustees of the School for the Blind at York.

It was about this time (1538) that the Council of the North was formed by a Royal Commission, and as the King's Manor, during the period I have undertaken to speak of, was the official residence of the Lord President and Council of the North, a word or two as to the constitution of this vice-regal Council and its powers may not be out of place. Drake tells us "That upon the suppression of the lesser monasteries in the 27th Henry VIII, there arose many insurrections in the northern parts, especially *one* under Lord Hussey, in Lincolnshire, and *that* under Sir Robert Aske of Aughton, in Yorkshire. The King, intending also the suppression of the greater monasteries, which he effected in the thirty-first year of his reign, for the preventing of future dangers,

and keeping those northern counties in quiet, he raised a President and Council at York, and gave them two several powers and authorities under one great seal of oyer and terminer, within the counties of York, Durham, Northumberland, and Westmoreland. The officers of this court were—Lord-President, Vice-President, four or more learned counsel, Secretary, King's Attorney, two examiners, fourteen attorneys, one registrar, one clerk of attachments, two clerks of seal, one clerk of tickets, one sergeant-at-arms, one pursuivant, ten collectors of fines, and two tipstaves."

During the century of the existence of the Council there were twelve Lord-Presidents, viz.,

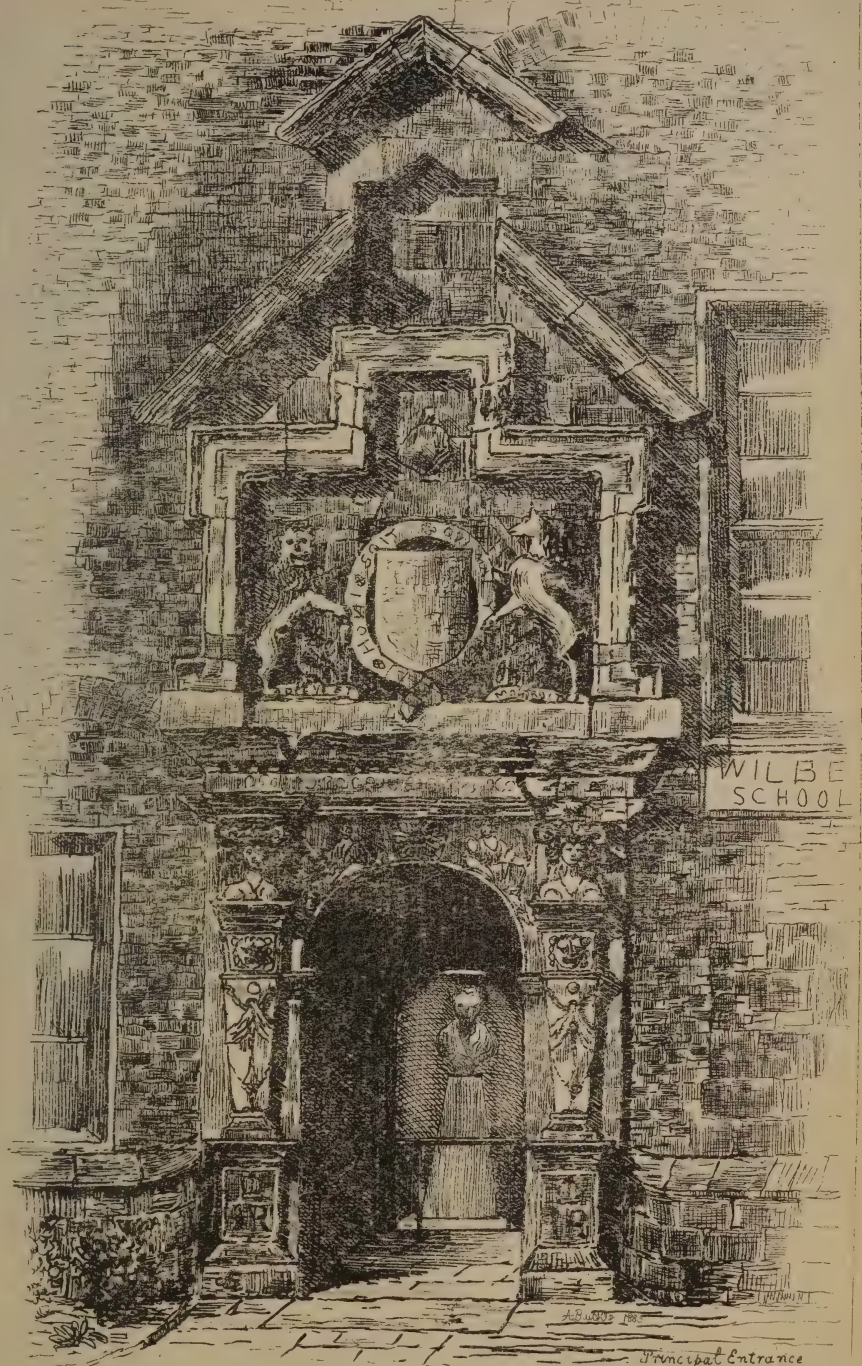
Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk,
Tunstall, Bishop of Durham,
Archbishop Holgate,
Francis, Lord Salisbury,
Henry, Earl of Rutland,
Archbishop Young,
Henry, Earl of Huntingdon,
Cecil, Lord Burghley,
Edmond, Lord Sheffield,
Emanuel, Lord Scrope,
Thomas, Lord Wentworth,
Thomas, Viscount Saville.

And amongst the other members of the Council we find such Yorkshire names as Sir M. Constable, Thomas Fairfax, Robert Challoner, Sir R. Bowes, Sir W. Vavasour, F. Frobysher, William Tancered, F. Wortley, Sir R. Maleverer, Sir Thomas Reresby, Frans. Boynton, R. Hutton, Sir W. Ellyss, Sir A. Ingram, Sir Jno. Lowther, Ed. Manwaring.

Bishop Tunstall had a Council of eight members; Lord Sheffield had one of twenty-eight.

Of the twelve Presidents, only four are of importance to us as having to do with the structure of the palace.

What the Abbot's palace consisted of, when it was handed over by the King for the official headquarters of the Lord-President and Council of the North, it is difficult to say. There are three or four walls, or pieces of walls, which are said by competent authorities to belong probably to this date; and the handrail of the stone



Principal Entrance
Manor House, York

staircase, on the south-west of the building, is doubtless *in situ*, as in Abbot Sever's time.

At a short distance south-west of the main building is a stone-vaulted cellar, at one time called "The King's Cellar", now designated by the ominous term, "The Dungeon". The origin of this structure is thus related by the late Mr. Davies :—"For political reasons Henry VIII, soon after he had appointed Bishop Holgate to be Lord-President, formed the intention of making a progress to the North, and sojourning awhile in York. In contemplation of this visit the King ordered that a new palace should be built for his reception upon that part of the site of St. Mary's Abbey which lay between the Abbot's house and the river. It was not until the month of September 1541 that the wayward monarch came to York, accompanied by his unfortunate Queen, Catherine Howard, and attended by a brilliant suite. The King took up his residence in the newly erected palace,—an edifice that had been hastily raised, and was doomed as suddenly to disappear. Within a few years after Henry's visit the royal palace became as total a ruin as the sacred Abbey itself."

One or two items with regard to this royal visit are interesting.

It was in June that the Corporation of the city were informed of the intended visit. "Like loyal citizens they at once decided that £20 should be laid out at London in the purchase of two cups of gold and silver, of the best fashion, to be presented to the King and Queen." Platforms were erected at Micklegate Bar, and on "the 12th my Lord Mayor called certain joiners and painters, and commanded them immediately to take their council and devices together to make a show at Micklegate Bar."

On the 13th of September the final resolution respecting the present was passed. A cup of gold, with £100, was to be presented to the King, and another cup, with £40 therein, to the Queen's grace, for the worship of the city.

On the 15th of September the King, with twelve members of his Council and retinue, entered the city, and we may well imagine that York put on its best gala

dress. Here the King waited until the 26th for the King of the Scots, but no Scotch monarch came from the North to greet his royal uncle. Probably the Scots could not trust their King in Henry's hands. This would put Henry in no pleasant mood. His Queen left him at York, and went on to Pontefract Castle, and thence to London, where, when Henry arrived, a charge was brought against her which cost the poor Queen her head.

One measure of the King's, which dates from York, all archæologists will regret. Many of the beautiful shrines in the churches of the North still remained undefaced, with their minute sculpture and fine goldsmith's work, creations of the highest artistic skill of the Middle Ages. On September 22 the King issued his commands to the Archbishop to cause all these shrines to be taken down, and the places where they stood to be made even and plain.¹ Henry left York, Sept. 26.

Thomas Radcliffe, the Earl of Sussex, was the first Lord-President who expended anything on the repair of the Manor House. He seems to have expended, by grants from the Crown, not much less than £600. Probably so large an amount was not all spent in repairs; but there are no means of ascertaining what additions, if any, were made by him.

The successor of the Earl of Sussex was Henry Hastings, the Earl of Huntingdon; who from 1572 to 1595 presided over the Northern Council, and with his wife, who was sister of the Earl of Leicester, the Queen's favourite, spent several months of each year at the Manor, during which time considerable and important additions were made to the palace. The greater part of the north-west portion of the house was, doubtless, erected at this time. In one of the largest rooms are heraldic achievements connected with the Earl, who seems to have been in good favour with the citizens, for we find him preferring a request to the Corporation that North Street postern might be enlarged so that his great horse might go through. With this request the Corporation at once complied.

When James I came to England to assume the crown he was received at the Manor by the famous Thomas

¹ Mins. of Priv. Coun.



Buckley

Wentworth (Lord Strafford) Ames
- King's Manor, York

Cecil, Lord Burghley, then Lord-President. Cecil, however, only held the office three years, when Lord Sheffield, afterwards Earl Mulgrave, succeeded. During his presidency we find an estimate was made, in 1609, of the needful repairs to the Manor, and in 1616 a grant of £1,000 was made by the Treasury. It appears, however, that in 1624 Lord Sheffield rendered an account of his receipts and disbursements respecting the Manor House, showing his total expenditure to have been no less than £3,301 4s. This sum was not, of course, all spent in repairs. The greater part of it, doubtless, was expended in the erection of the block at the north and east sides of the house. It is Jacobæan in character, and the initials of King James are placed at the base of the pilasters at the entrance.

One incident connected with Lord Sheffield is worthy of notice. On August 9th, 1615, it was agreed "that the Lord Mayor, Alderman, Sheriff, twenty-four chamberlains and best commoners, should meet the Lord Sheffield, Lord Lieutenant and President in the North parts, at Walmgate Bar, to welcome his Honour to the city, who hath been to London, and since his last being at this city, within the year, had all his three sons drowned and daughter deceased."

We now come to the most famous of the Lord-Presidents, and to the most glorious past of the King's Manor. Thomas, Viscount Wentworth, the famous Earl of Strafford, was appointed Lord President in 1628, and for a great part of the first four years of his Presidency he resided at the King's Manor. The house owes that striking western and north-west part of the Quadrangle to the ill-fated Strafford. His arms over the west door of the Quadrangle are those he bore as Viscount Wentworth, and are said to have formed one of the articles of his impeachment, "in that he showed his ambition by quartering his arms on a royal palace." This interesting monument of one of the greatest men of the century is externally much as he left it.

Strafford's presidency lasted from 1628 to 1640, years during which he attained to the zenith of his power and honour, ending, after being hunted down by the relentless hatred of his political foes, and being deserted by

the master he had served so well, in the gloom of his execution.

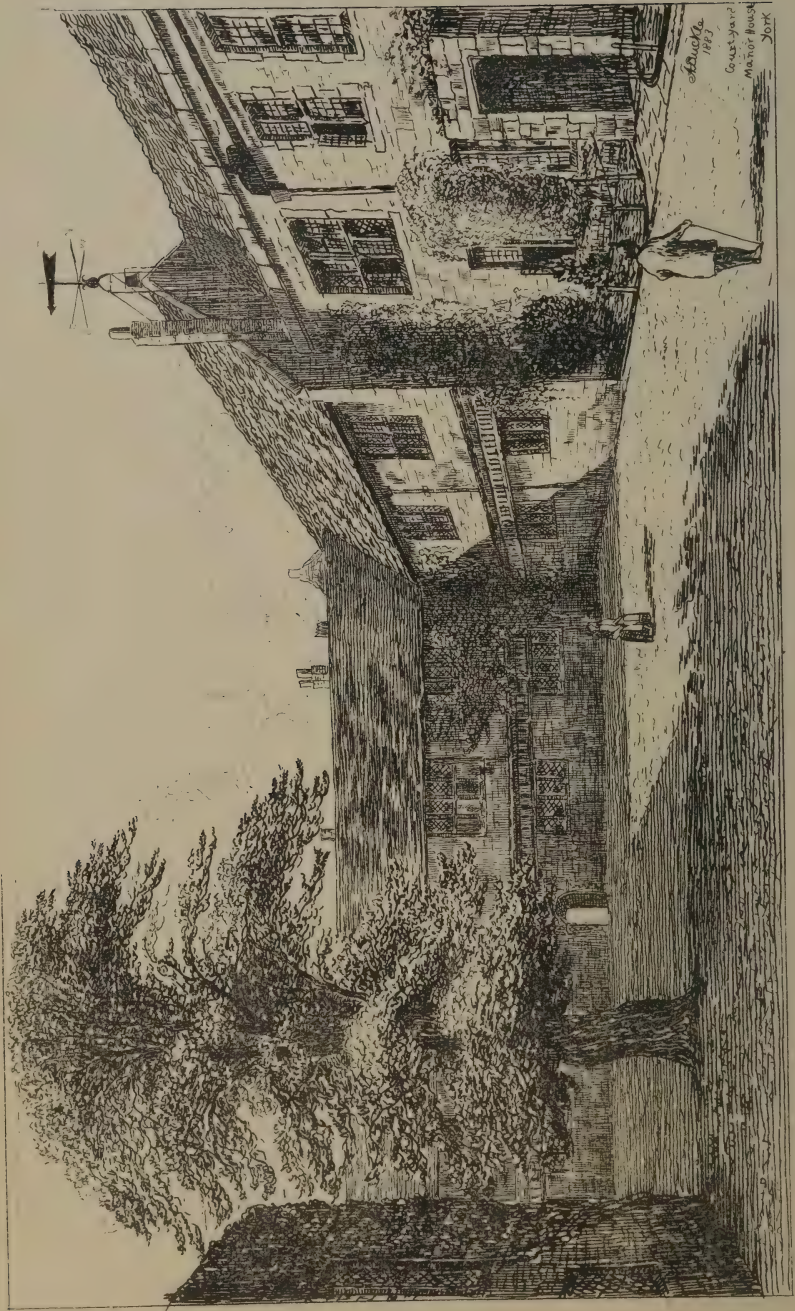
York had good reason to be thankful for a Lord-President of such remarkable vigour of character, for it was during his presidency, in 1631, that the city suffered from the last visitation of the seventeenth century plague; and by the prudent and strict regulations issued by Strafford, the Lord Mayor was much helped in his government at this trying time. The following words, in the opening of his letter giving instructions as to the precautions to be taken, are characteristic of Strafford. Writing to the Lord Mayor he says:—

“You have here, under His Majesty, the charge and government of this people, which is to be required at your hands both before God and man, more especially by himself and this Council, as persons entrusted in chief, and accountable as well as yourselves, and therefore, in discharge of my own, not duty only to my master, but my affection also to this town, I do expect that you will punctually observe these orders following. Withall, I must tell you plainly I will inform myself very diligently how they are observed and executed, and shall proceed severely to punish your negligence and others’ disobedience of them. These are things not to be jested withall,” etc., etc.

Mr. Davies tells us that “the citizens of York were fully sensible of their obligations to the Lord President.”

Towards the end of October, a short time before his departure from York, upon having received the appointment of Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Lord Mayor and his brethren were desirous of personally waiting upon Lord Wentworth to give him thanks for the many kindnesses he had shown to the city, and they sent the sword-bearer to the Manor to inquire when His Lordship would be at leisure to receive them. It is not recorded that the interview took place, and most probably the compliment was declined.

Not many days previously this remarkable man had been plunged into the deepest distress by the premature and unexpected sudden death of his wife, the Lady Arabella Wentworth, to whom he was devotedly attached. She was a lady, Sir George Radcliffe tells us, exceedingly



Knickerbocker
1853
Cousins' House
Mayor's House
York

comely and beautiful, and yet much more lovely in the endowments of her mind. Her death took place at the Manor on the 5th of October in the year 1631, when the bereaved Earl was himself suffering from severe illness. "On Tuesday morning", Sir George says, "I took the Earl out of bed, and carried him to receive his last blessing from her."

Writing three weeks after the sad event, Strafford says: "God hath taken from me your noblest cousin, the most incomparable woman and wife my eyes shall ever behold." He remained but a short time in York after this event.

It was during the presidency of Strafford that the Manor was used more as a palace than at any other time. In 1639 Charles I, whilst on his way to the North, passed a month at York, and took up his abode at the Manor. Strafford was in Ireland at the time.

In the year 1640 Charles was again, with the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the whole Court, at the Manor from 23 Aug. to October. Strafford was here, too, but as Mr. Davies notes, "it was the last time that either of them lodged within its walls."

In 1538, as we have noted, the Council of the North was established in the Manor; 1639 and 1640 saw the gay and picturesque court of Charles within its walls. The building itself, much as it is now externally, had, it seems to me, reached the zenith of its glory as the palace of the Crown. Its fall and desuetude as a palace seems to have been as rapid and as complete as the fall of the last President who lived within its walls, for in 1641 he laid his head on the block for his master; and in the same year that master, on his way to the North, spent two nights in York; not, however, at his palace, but at the house of Sir Arthur Ingram; and again in 1642, during his long and last visit, he was indebted to the same worthy old Knight for shelter and entertainment.

The Council now being abolished, we find that in 1643 a Mr. John Stainforth was appointed "Keeper of the House within the site of the late Monastery of the Blessed Mary, near the walls of the city of York, otherwise called the Pallas, or Manor House, or the Manor Place, with a salary of £6 : 13 : 4."

Verily might we not write over the entrance, "Ichabod" (the glory hath departed)? But two hundred years after, however, in 1838, we may pull down the inscription, for the Manor House again has a glory of its own; not, indeed, derived from the presence of any earthly monarch, however noble; another glory, but not less real, the glory of perpetuating the memory of a famous Yorkshireman, William Wilberforce, by throwing light on the mental eyes of those who, though they see not

"The waving corn in autumn days,
Nor witchery of the moon's pale rays,
Nor morn's glad beams of rising sun,
Nor roseate hues when day is done",

can yet find joy and gladness in the mental vision of beauties unseen by any mere physical eye.

RIEVAULX ABBEY.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(*Read at the York Congress, 1891.*)

THE Abbey of Rievaulx, or, as it should be more correctly named, Rievallis (the valley of the Rie), is situate near Helmsley, in the hundred of Riedale, in the North Riding of the county of York, and is the first Cistercian foundation in Yorkshire. In a paper written by our Hon. Sec., Mr. W. De Gray Birch, F.S.A., "On the Date of Foundation ascribed to the Cistercian Abbeys in Great Britain," published in vol. xxvi of our *Journal*, p. 281, he gives a list of the various abbeys of this order arranged in a chronological series, which he took from a miscellaneous collection of tracts among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum,¹ from which it appears that Rievaulx Abbey was founded A.D. 1131, iij nonis Marcii (5th March): the four earliest abbeys of this foundation in England being, according to the MS.,—Furness, A.D. 1127, viij Idus Junii; Waverley, A.D. 1129, v Kal. Novembris; Rievall and Tintern, A.D. 1131, vij Idus Maii. But Furness was originally a Savigniac foundation, and was not admitted into the Cistercian Order until A.D. 1148, together with the parent house at Savigny, and all its dependent houses. The Cistercian Order was founded A.D. 1098 at Citeaux, in the diocese of Chalons, by the secession of Stephen Harding, formerly a monk of Sherborne, and eighteen monks from the Benedictine monastery of Molesmes in Burgundy, consequent upon the disgust they felt at the laxity which had invaded the simple rules of St. Benedict.

The Abbey of Rievall was founded by Walter Espec or L'Espec, a great man in the court of King Hen. I. Ailred, Abbot of Rievall, says of him that he was prudent in council and discreet in war, a trusty friend, a loyal subject, of giant-like stature, but comely, having

¹ MS. Cotton, Faustina, B. vii, fo. 36.

large eyes, a big face, a voice like a trumpet, yet beautiful and eloquent.

The popular account of the foundation of the abbey is thus given:—

“Walter Espec had, by Adelina his wife, a son named Walter, a comely person, who, taking much delight in swift horses, was thrown by one of them, who, being put out beyond his strength, stumbled; and he, falling from him, broke his neck, to the great grief of his parents, who wanted an heir for their great estate. However, taking advice of his uncle, William de Espec, rector of the church of Garton, about the disposal of it, was advised by him to make Christ his heir, at least to part of it, by building three monasteries, viz., Kirkham, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Rievaulx, and Warden in Bedfordshire.”

Walter Espec is described in the genealogy of Ros, which is found on the fourth parchment-leaf in the *Cottonian Cartularium*, as “Miles strenuus conquestoris”. The Rev. J. C. Atkinson, the author of the *Introduction to the Cartularium of Rievaulx*, which he edited for the Surtees Society, and which forms vol. 83 of their publications, questions the correctness of this description. He says: “It supposes him to be a man past the first flush of youth more than sixty years before the battle of the Standard, at which Aeldred describes him as achieving a memorable renown, which is an utter impossibility, and it effectually discredits the statement of the genealogy.” And he answers it in the following way: “that throughout the Museum MS. *Cartularium* the founder’s name is invariably written Espec without the prefix L, and in the *Bedfordshire Domesday* we find, under the heading xxv Terra Willelmi Speck, and among the manors and lands held *in capite* by Speck, the manors of Wardone and Sadgivele; i.e., at the date of the return, 1087, William Speck is the feudal occupant of the lands and rights granted forty-eight years afterwards by Walter Espec to the monastery of Warden, the inference being that Walter Espec was not simply the heir, but the son, or at least the nephew on the father’s side, of William Speck, and that the “Miles strenuus conquestoris” of the genealogy was William

Speck, his father, and that Walter Espec, though Miles Strenuus, could only be so in the service of King Henry."

Three successive years are named as the years of the foundation of Rievaulx Abbey—A.D. 1131, 1132, and 1133. The latter is the date quoted in the genealogy of Ros, where the statement stands: "Walterus Especke miles strenuus conquestoris tria fundavit monasteria I de Kirkham A.D. 1122 II de Rievall 1133 III de Wardon 1136." As regards the other two years named, the following extract from the Hexham Book (S. S., p. 108) will bring the matter fairly before us: "Anno MCXXXII Walterus Espec vir magnus et potens in conspectu regis et totius regni, monachos Cisterciensis observantiæ, directos a Bernardo, Abbate vallis recepit et posuit in solitudine Blachamour secus aquam Rie, a qua cœnobium eorum Rievallis dicitur cum quibus missus est Willelmus primus Abbas eorum vir consummate virtutis, et excellentis memoriæ apud posteros"; while to this mention of Rievaulx is subjoined in a note: "Rievaux was the earliest Cistercian house in the North of England, and Prior John of Hexham could not pass over the foundation of a monastery which was the mother of Melrose, and was presided over by the famous Aeldred, who was a native of Hexham, a place which had good reason to remember him." And further: "Anno 1132 tertio nonas Martii facta est Abbatia Sanctæ Mariæ de Rie-valle die Sabbati," says the historian of Melrose (*Chron.*, ed. Bann. Club, 69), and this is the date usually given. The donation, however, which brought the monks to that place had been made in 1131, when L'Espece gave "grif et Tilestona" to St. Bernard for the construction of an abbey (*Registrum Chartarum Monasterii Rievallensis*, MS. Cotton, Julius D I.). The chronicle of Segebert correctly ascribes the beginning of Rievaulx to this year (*German. rerum Chronographi*, ed. 1566, 138b). Mr. De Gray Birch, in his paper already referred to, says: "There is every reason to suppose that the lists were compiled from the archives of Cîteaux itself, because the actual date of so many and such distant abbeys could not have been procured from any other source in those days. But, with the solitary reference in Archdale's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, treating of the abbey at Derry, this MS.

does not appear to have ever been made use of by the historians of religious orders, at least as far as Great Britain is concerned."

The entry of Rievaulx in this MS. is: "MCXXXJ iij Nonis Marcii Abbatia Longi Pontis eodem die et anno Abbatia Rievallis"; and at p. 357 of the same vol. of our *Journal* Mr. Birch supplements this list by a somewhat similar list in another MS. among the Cottonian MSS. (Brit. Mus., MS. Cotton., Vespasian A, v. 1, f. 546). "It is written," he says, "in a hand cotemporary with the last year (1247) which is entered in the series." In this list Rievaulx is thus entered: "MCXXXJ de Rievalle." Thus the MS. Cotton. Faustina agrees as to the day and month with the historian of Melrose, though both he and the Hexham Book give the year 1132; but if Mr. De Gray Birch's conjecture that the MS. Faustina was compiled from the archives of Citeaux itself is correct, the year 1131 would be the date of the foundation of the abbey. The original charter is without date, but in a cartulary of Rievaulx Abbey preserved among the Cottonian MSS., and printed by Dugdale as No. V, and by him headed "Ex Registro Abbatiae de Rievaulx in Bibl. Cott. sub effigie Julii D 1, fo. 15a, A.D. M.C.tricesimo primo", the possessions of the Abbey are given: the first of which is "In principio datae sunt ix carrucatae terrae Beat. Bernardo Abbati Clarevallensi scil Grif et Tillistona ad construendam ibi Abbatiam A.D. MCXXX primo. Deinde post aliquot annos dedit Oda de Bolthebi Domino Willielmo Abbati Hestelscuit cum pertinenciis suis. A.D. MCXLV dedit nobis Walterus Espec Bildesdale cum pertinenciis suis."

In the charter, "he gives and grants, with the consent of Hen. King of England, and the counsel of Aulina his wife, to God and to the Church of St. Marie de Rievalle, in the hand of William the Abbot, and to the same brethren serving God, for the love of God and the health of the soul of King William of England, and for the health of Henry King of England and of all his parents, and for the health of the soul of my father and mother, and for the soul of Hugo de Wildecher, and for the souls of the father and mother of my wife, and of all our parents and ancestors, 9 carrucates of land, 'scil' terram

de Griff', where are 4 carrucates, and the land of Thilleston, where are 5 carrucates with their appurtenances. And the grant ends thus: "Hanc Abbatiam Rievallensem fundavi ego Walterus Espec consilio et concessu Turstini Archiepiscopi Ebor concessu etiam et consilio Henrici Regis Anglorum Dominus Papa Innocentis auctoritate apostolica hæc omnia confirmante."

The date of this charter, says Mr. Atkinson, must be contemporaneous with the grant of Bilsdale in 1145, as it defines as precisely the north-east boundaries of Bilsdale as in marking out those of Griff and Tilston.

It is worthy of note that this charter makes no mention of Walter Espec's son among the persons enumerated for whose souls' health the grant was made, and Mr. Atkinson uses this omission to discredit the story of there having been a son, and prefers to think that Espec was influenced "by the same spirit as St. Bernard rather than that he designed to charter a seat in heaven by a foregone inheritance on earth". Whatever may have been his original motive in founding the Abbey, it is clear, from the mention of the numerous persons for whose souls' health his grants were made, that he felt the obligation which was then laid so heavily on those who sought the consolations of religion, and that the omission of his son from the benefits he conferred on others points more to the fact that he never had a child, and thus to discredit the usually received story of the origin of the foundation of the Abbey.

It will be observed that the entry in the Cartulary, Julius D, states that the nine carucates of land, Griff and Tilleston, were given to St. Bernard, Abbot of Clarevallis, for constructing an Abbey A.D. 1131. The charter grants to God and to the church of St. Maria de Rievaulx, in the hand of William the Abbot, and to the brethren of the Abbey. St. Bernard sent over the monks who formed the first capitular body in 1128. The MS. Cott. Faustina gives the date of the foundation, "A.D. 1131, iij Nonis Marcii". The historian of Melrose gives "1132 tertio nonas Martii facta est Abbatia", etc. May not these apparently conflicting dates be thus reconciled? St. Bernard sent over his monks prior to or in the year 1131. Walter Espec gave them the nine carucates of land

in that year, by livery of seizin or some mode of conveyance of which no record is extant beyond the registration in the Abbey of Cîteaux on the date given in the MS. Faustina, B., "1131, tertio nonis Marcii." The monks then proceeded to form their Order, clear the ground, and erect suitable buildings, but at first only of a temporary character. Then at the time the charter was granted by Espec the Monastery had been constituted. There were an Abbot, William, and brethren, who formed a corporate body who could receive the grant, which would supersede the informal gift to St. Benedict in 1131, although that was the real foundation of the Abbey, and as such was registered in the Abbey of Cîteaux. This is consistent with the final clause of the charter: "I, Walter Espec, have founded (*fundavi*) this Abbey, Rievallē", etc.; not by that charter, but previously, as a reason for the grant contained in the charter. The date of 1132, given by the historian of Melrose, may be a mistake for 1131, especially as he gives the same day of the month, the 3rd none of March, as is given in the MS. Faustina; or it may refer to the Abbey having got into working order, the words used being "Facta est Abbatia"; and as to the date of 1133, I have not met with anything which can give this date any preference over that of 1131.

We take it then that the year of grace 1131 saw the monks sent over by St. Bernard, with their first Abbot, William, at their head, in possession of the land given to them by Walter Espec. William of Newburgh describes the locality in which they settled at that time as a horrid and vast solitude ("horride et vastæ solitudinis"); and when we look back upon this wild, uncultured waste, and consider how much the sympathy we, in these days, feel for the beauties of nature arises from the higher culture of the mind and spirit, we may learn to appreciate at its full value the devotion of these old monks as they went forth, under the primæval commission, to replenish the earth and subdue it, and to develop the industrial activities of the country, and lay the foundations of English enterprise and English commerce, until, in the words of the old Hebrew prophet, "the wilderness and the solitary places were glad for them, and the desert rejoiced and blossomed as the rose."

Walter Espec, in addition to the grants of land already mentioned, gave to the Abbey the wood and pannage for their hogs out of his forest in Hamelac. Dugdale says he also gave the manor of Hamelac ; but I cannot find it in any of the charters, and the Bull of Pope Alexander III only mentions the wood and pannage in the forest. He is described in the Cotton MS., Vitellius, F. 4 (Dug., No. 11), as broken down with old age ("senio confractus"), having William, an heir of his body, lawfully begotten ; but the residue of his lands he divided between his three sisters, his successors by hereditary right,—Hauwissa, married to William Buscye ; Albrada, married to Nicholas de Traybye ; and Adelina, married to Peter de Roos. But to Adelina he gave specially the advowson of Kirkham and Rievallis ; and after assuming the habit of a monk at Rievall for two years, he finished his temporal life, and was buried in his church "vij Idus Marcii A.D. mclij. Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus. Amen."

The example set by Walter Espec was not long in bearing fruit, and the benefactors to the Abbey were numerous. We cannot do more than refer to a few to which attention may be specially directed.

A grant made by John de Ever in the octave of St. John the Baptist, A.D. 1302, releasing all his right and title in the pastures of the forest, or officers thereof, upon the account of their lands and tenements in Westerdale, as also of Brockton and Kirby in Cleveland, and the homages due to him on that account, contained a condition that if the said lands, in part or in whole, should ever come into lay hands, they should all return to him or his heirs. It would be interesting to know whether John de Ever's heirs at the Dissolution resumed the rights he had thus granted ; and it may be worth considering whether some such conditions might not be inserted in modern grants to ecclesiastical uses, to counteract the effect of a policy of disendowment.

Pope Alexander III, by his Bull dated the twelfth of the kalends of December, A.D. 1160, granted to Ælred, Abbot of St. Mary's at Rievaulx, his brethren and their successors, a confirmation of all their possessions, with divers privileges, and in particular that they might celebrate the Divine Offices in the time of a general interdict ;

and Pope Alexander IV, by his Bull some time before 1261, confirmed their exemption from tithes, explaining that this exemption extended also to the tithes of any lands which they either manured and ploughed themselves, or held in their hands.

To such an extent were these Bulls granted to the Cistercian monks in England, that in the second year of the reign of Henry IV a statute was passed especially directed against "the religious men of the Order of Cisterciaux", imposing the penalties of *præmunire* on them "and all other religious and seculars" who should put such Bulls in execution to be quit of the payment of tithes of lands let to farm, or manured, or occupied by other persons than by themselves."

William, the first Abbot, remained in office till his death, according to Dugdale, in 1146; but Mr. Atkinson gives the date of his death 1145. Dugdale places Maurice as his successor, but without any dates. He was succeeded by Ælred in 1147, who occurs until 1160-64. He died in 1167. The following is the entry of his death in the Melrose Chronicle, "A'o mclxvii obiit piæ memoriæ Aldredus iii Abbas Rievallis cui successit Silvanus Abbas de Dundraynan." He is described as one, if not the only, eminent person for piety, learning, and all other virtues of a monastic life; for which accomplishments he became so singularly famous, that David, King of Scotland, admitted him to an intimate conversation with him; but he refused to improve it to get worldly honours, and refused to be made a bishop that he might have a full leisure for contemplation and preaching the Word of God. He diligently imitated St. Bernard in all his actions, being mild, modest, humble, pious, chaste, and temperate, and wonderfully for peace. He wrote many books of history, piety, and divinity, viz., the lives of King Edward the Confessor in verse and prose, and of some other kings of England; David, King, and St. Margaret, Queen of Scots; and St. Ninian, Bishop; of miracles in general, and particularly of the miracles of the Church of Hagulstadt and the state of the same; chronicles from Adam, and of the Wars of the Standard; of the foundations of St. Mary of York and of Fountains; several homilies and sermons. There is a manuscript copy of his Life of St.

Margaret at Stonyhurst College,¹ and a manuscript copy of his Life of Edward the Confessor in the Earl of Ashburton's collection, in a quarto, on vellum, of 296 pages, in writing of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.²

Walter Daniel is mentioned as a disciple of Ældred, and a monk of this house. He was the author of several theological works, all of which are said to have been kept very carefully in the library of Rievaulx, but at the dissolution were dispersed, if not lost. He died and was buried in this Monastery in 1170.

Mr. Atkinson goes very fully into the early relations of Rievaulx with Kirkham, the negotiations which went on between the two houses (originating, it may be, though he hardly thought so, in the practically inconvenient propinquity of the several establishments and their possessions), and the conditional agreement to remove from the original site entered into by the elder of the sister foundations. It would far exceed our limits if we endeavoured to follow the learned controversy which he has opened; but we may state the conclusion at which he arrived, that the contemplated arrangement between the Abbey of Rievaulx and the Priory of Kirkham, contained in the cyrograph or agreement between the Abbey and the Priory, which is without date (but, says Mr. Atkinson, some internal evidence appears to refer it to an early period in the thirteenth century), owed its origin to no question of peace between Rievaulx and Kirkham, but in a question of peace within the Priory itself,—the Prior and some of the canons on one side, and the rest of the canons and brethren on the other. These latter were willing to conform to the Cistercian Order, and to become incorporated in its members (the canons among them) as monks. The other party, and, as it would seem, with the Prior at its head, were not so willing. The result, however, was that the Priory of Kirkham remained in its old place, and continued to be an Augustinian Priory as well. It is quite possible that some among the body might join the Cistercian Order; but the inference, from all we know

¹ Hist. MS. Commission, 2 Rep., App., 146.

² *Id.*, Rep. 8, App. 17.

and can legitimately infer, is that peace was restored to the Convent, and it was enabled to persevere in the old tracks.

King Edward II, on his return from one of his expeditions into Scotland, and his nobility refreshed themselves at this Abbey, and while there news was brought that the Scots came after in great power and no less haste. "The King and his nobles, minding more their meat than the safety of their subjects or their own honour, neglected the message; but the Scots, pursuing eagerly their attempt, came suddenly within sight, and compelled to shameful flight the King and his men, which never ceased till they had recovered Yorke for their succour."

In Pope Nicholas' Taxation the value of the temporalities of the Abbey amounted, in 1291, to £241 *per ann.* The valuation of the Monastery in 26 Henry VIII amounted to the gross income of £351:14:6. The clear revenue was £278:10:2 *per ann.*

At the dissolution the site was granted, in exchange for other lands, in 30 Henry VIII (1538), to Thomas Earl of Rutland, a descendant (says Collins in his *Peerage*) of Walter Espec, the founder of the Abbey; and by Catherine, a daughter and heiress of Roger Earl of Rutland, became the property of her husband, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose son (the second Duke of Buckingham) sold it to Sir Charles Duncombe, Knt. Thomas Duncombe, Esq., the grandson of Sir Charles, was the owner of the site in 1758. It now belongs to the Earl of Feversham, the head of the Duncombe family.

The pension-list shows that Rowlande Blyton, the last Abbot, received a pension of 100 marks, and the rest of the monks various sums amounting in the whole to £86:11:6.

There is an imperfect impression, on red wax, of the common seal of the Abbey, attached to a conventual lease *temp.* Henry VIII in the Augmentation Office.¹ It represents an abbot, with his crozier, standing between two figures, of whom little more remains than their feet. Scarcely any part of the legend remains. There is a

¹ See Plate, fig. No. 4. The figs. 1, 2, 3, are described in Mr. W. de Gray Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, vol. i, Nos. 3905-9.

1



2



3



4



SEALS OF RIEVAULX ABBEY.

1. A Counterseal, 12th century. "Impertita tego quæ sunt michi clausa revelo (?)" (Very doubtful if Rievaulx.)
2. "Signum Abbatis Rievallis", A.D. 1191 × 1222.
3. "Sigillum Abbatis de Rievaille", A.D. 1220.
4. "S. Abbatis et Conventus Sancte Marie Rievallis", A.D. 1315.

counterseal, the subject of which is a man on horseback destroying a dragon ; no doubt St. George and the Dragon. Dugdale says Peck has given a drawing from an impression of this seal in his volume, whence it appears that the form of the seal was oval. Above the abbot is the figure of the Virgin with Our Saviour in her arms, seated. The inscription is

S' : ABBATIS : ET : CONVENTVS : SANCTE : MARIE :
RIEVALLIS.

Peck's impression was appended to a deed of the 46th Edward III (1372).

A fairly perfect impression of this Abbey seal has recently been presented to the British Museum, and is in the Manuscript Department (xcv, 19*a*, *b*).

NOTES ON SPECIMENS OF INTERLACING ORNAMENT

WHICH OCCUR AT KIRKSTALL ABBEY,
NEAR LEEDS, YORKSHIRE.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

THE present age is remarkable, for the many attempts made to reproduce old fallacies, and the singular amount of useless labour expended in hopeless endeavours to give such "fads" a rickety existence. In this way architectural studies suffer equally with other branches of general knowledge. Hence a special "hobby", for the moment, with many is that of abandoning and ignoring all previous progress, together with the conclusions and deductions arrived at by Britton, Rickman, and a host of more recent authorities, on and in the study of pre-Norman art, and to class as of Saxon age, all specimens of interlacing ornament they come across. This quite irrespective of its position, and accompanying circumstances, which often force even the very assertors, to be under the sad necessity of "whitewashing" their difficulties, by the suggestion of such ornament being "re-used materials"!

Saxon structures of stone, as might be expected, are neither numerous, nor, when found, often of very early date, but mostly of that period when the iron hand of Cnut ("Denmark's joy") had made the wilderness, his father produced, to blossom; and he had led, for the first time, a West Saxon fleet through Scandinavian tide-ways. Or of the *unquiet* quietness of the Confessor's reign, when the contests of that grandest of men, Magnus the Good, against Swend—Ulf's son, was exhausting the energy that else might have dangerously disturbed the Saxon kingdom in England.

Of the use of interlacing ornament, there were truly *two* periods. The first, simplest, and best, that of the Saxon age, ending in 1066; the best ornament formed of a *double strap*-line; but towards the close, when Norman

influence began to be felt, often sinking into that of a single half-roll section. Its most elaborate examples are marked by a simplicity, and strength, that give it a dignity often wanting in those of the second or *Norman* age of its use.

The second period of the use or recurrence to interlacing ornament (to which class the greater number of such objects belong) took its rise somewhere about or shortly prior to 1090; when the vastly increased use of cut stone erections had, in the second generation from the Conquest, raised up a school of native masons of Saxon stock, who naturally supported a fashion which reverted to the old style of their native ornament. Though but a fashion, yet as a return to local use, it is both interesting and well worthy of study. In this, as usually is found to be the case, the imitating artist often seeks to hide his want of originality in an over-elaboration of ornament, considering, no doubt, he thus was improving on the older design. Of such class the so-called monument of Abbot Hedda at Peterborough Cathedral, and the base of its not very distant neighbour, the churchyard cross at Castre, are admirable specimens; as, indeed, are almost all the over-elaborated ones.

Double-strap is now seldom found, while that strap (so by courtesy termed) into which the dragon's or other animals' tails change when forming the cloud of interlacement so often seen, is in section reduced to about half the thickness of ordinary sash-cord.

Caps and spandrels of arches are filled with a sort of natural foliage. But patient study soon brings to light other points, readily revealing to an experienced eye the division in date existing between this Norman imitation-work and its older Saxon ancestry.

Excellent samples of the changes through which the fashion itself passes are seen, where it appears in the churches of St. Peter's, Northampton, and Castre; both the work of the same French architect, and in both the strap-ends begin to receive and change into leafy terminations. At Kirkstall Abbey, in this county, are no less than four examples of such ornamentation, all still occupying their original position in the building. Here, at least, the most obstinate supporter of this recent heresy cannot

pretend that prior to 1155 any former abbey had existed on the site,—a date, by the way, before which the entire fashion would, in Northamptonshire, have probably passed away. Thus that dreary stalking-horse called “re-used materials” cannot be trotted out to ride off upon here. The five sketches from Kirkstall Abbey Church, which accompany these notes, show them as they now remain, while the process of change they underwent follows exactly their rotation of execution in the structure.

Besides these, still later cases of such use had here existed, in the shape of windows so ornamented; but the five fragments left, most unfortunately, are not sufficient to recover the design; while, singular to say, one of these stones belonged to curved bar-tracery. (See sketches F.)

The first sketch (A) presents a view of the western impost to the circular-headed recess, over the piscina, at the east end of the south wall of the choir; the very earliest work commenced of the Abbey Church. It has been engraved, I think, for Mr. J. H. Parker. Naturally enough this is most akin to actual pre-Norman ornamentation, though the serpent’s head and leafy tail fairly reveal the “cloven hoof” of pretension, to that which it is not.

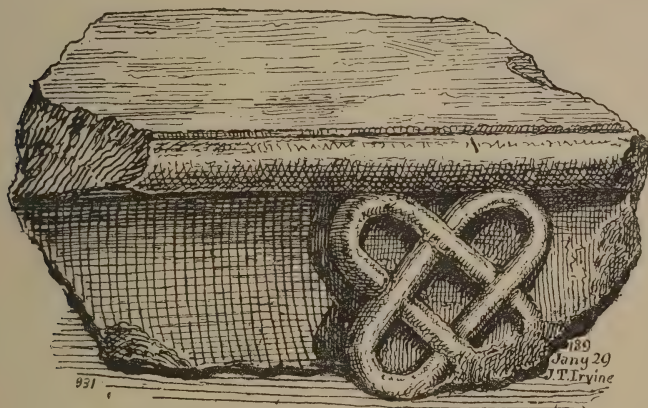
Sketch B gives the caps supporting the north side of that arch, which opens into the central eastern chapel from the north transept. In it the leaf-terminations begin to overwhelm the interlacing parts of the design, and as elsewhere mark that movement of change forwards which was taking place in it.

Sketch C shows the north-west angle of the base of the third pillar, west of the crossing pier of the north arcade of the nave. The other three angles are blocked, and left unfinished. Its design approaches much more to the old work than the last; but the breadth and treatment of the strap, and its remarkable production from a fillet of the very moulded base, divides it from all true Saxon work altogether.

Sketch D presents the highest up of all those remaining in the very places they had been formed to fill. It is that corbel-termination that supported the south side of the great western arch leading from the

crossing into the nave. In this, the now coming abandonment of the fashion, then close at hand, is foreshadowed, and the penitential whips, forming the design, may be said to considerably hide the interlacing idea they are arranged to form. Corbel from top of wall (E).

Such ornamentation at Kirkstall Abbey is of necessity *later* than 1155 (probably beyond the period of its final disuse in Northants). At St. Peter's, Northampton, and Castre churches, we can approximate towards the age of the designer, as the dedication-inscription of the last declares it took place in 1124, and his work must have, therefore, been going on a few years previously. In like manner, those who visit Adel Church (no great distance from Kirkstall) will see caps with interlacing work used in its south porch. Now its date is generally accepted as after 1136. Nor can any one doubt of its being a Norman design.



Moulded Cornice with Interlacing Work.

Whenever a date can be obtained or approximated to, the evidence so given is most satisfactory as to the Norman parentage of this fashion, and in a recent *Journal* is illustrated a most beautiful specimen of exactly the same fashionable re-use in the chancel-arch of Wallingford Church. This presents so many points by which it can be assigned to its late Norman date that it raises astonishment, how any real architectural student can doubt the question, or hesitate for a moment, in assigning it to its

proper period, and place, in the style to which it belongs. To all interested in such matters it may be said, whenever you find rich leafage or *excess* of interlacing ornament proceeding from dragons or other animals, such work may safely be placed in the *last*, and not the first, age of such treatment.

Since the above notes were written, some more fragments of the above mentioned windows have come to light, as well as part of a moulded string or cornice (for a figure of which see previous page) containing interlacing ornament,—a class of moderately late Norman work abundantly spread over the whole West Riding of Yorkshire, and at present erroneously called Saxon, though but a very small portion of it is so.

YORK AS AN EARLY BRITISH AND ENGLISH CENTRE OF LIFE AND LEARNING.

BY J. W. EASTWOOD, M.D., MEMBER OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE.

THE members of the Association have been engaged, during the week, in visiting ancient objects of interest not only in this city, but also in the surrounding neighbourhood. Scarcely any place in England exceeds York in historical importance, whether civil or ecclesiastical. My object is to gather up the fragments which have been seen and heard about, so that there may be a connected whole made out and conveyed to the mind.

Like many other cities, including London, Paris, Vienna, and Rome, the city of York owes its origin to the river on which it is built. Its site was the centre of a great inland sea, with a portion of the Cleveland Hills forming an island on the eastern side, and portions of the great Pennine Range, or backbone of England, on the western side. The traces of this inland sea, both on the east and on the west, can be seen to this day. Then came the ice period, when further changes took place in the relations of land and sea, so that not only the plain of York, but also that of Westmorland, was filled up with ice, and fragments of granite, whinstone, and other rocks were strewed about the country in various places. Some of these fragments can be clearly traced to Shap Fell and its district, showing that they had passed over the great western range at a height above the level of the present sea of at least 1,400 feet. At this time there is no trace of man, when he was making his early appearance on the banks of the Thames. The later prehistoric period slowly commenced when sufficient land was formed for man to occupy, and the present river-system was established.

The river now called the Ouse was a much larger stream than it is to-day. This fact was clearly proved when, in 1868, some cutting through the land had to be made near the railway. Neolithic axes and other articles

were found 26 ft. above the present level of the river, and 396 yards from it, showing that a larger and broader river had existed in the later prehistoric period. I shall not enter upon the ethnological question as to who were the ancient people first known to be living on the banks of this great river. It is sufficient to note the fact that here was land which had recently risen above the bed of the stream, navigable for ages for the largest vessels which were built. The junction of the small river Foss with the Ouse formed, no doubt, the most likely position for a town and fortification. A similar site we see in the position of ancient London, between the Thames, the Fleet, and the Lea, where much of the surrounding country was under water.

The origin of the place and name of York was clearly a river one, and the Ouse was a later name. The western hills and valleys are drained by large rivers, of which the Swale, Ure, and Nidd join above York, and the Wharfe and Aire below York. The Swale and the Ure join to form the Ouse, but a city called *Isurium* by the Romans (now Aldborough) was probably more ancient than York itself.

The earliest historical people we know of were the Brigantes; a people, no doubt, of Keltic origin, and their early capital was on the Ure, just before the junction with the Swale. That the Ure (locally pronounced Yore) was the origin of the name of York there can be no doubt. It is not uncommon as an early Keltic form for rivers. There are Ebura and Eure in Gaul, and Ebro in Spain, as similar names. Eborā is also an early name of a river, and hence Eborācon or Eborācum, the latter part of the name being a not uncommon addition to the original name. Probably one of these forms was British, and the other Roman. The Eure or Yore is, therefore, the real origin of the name of York. When the Angles came the river was Eofor or Efor, and the town became Eoforwic or Eforvic; so that the meaning is the town on the Yore, or Yore-wic, contracted into York.

The Romans did not come north until many years after their first landing and conquest of the south of Britain. Adrian came in the year 134, and both *Isurium* and *Eborācum* became important cities. This city

was made the capital of the province of Maxima Cæsariensis, and also of all Roman Britain. It was admirably situated for the purpose, on a large navigable river, capable of being defended, and in a fertile district, richer than the valley of the Thames, and more extensive. It was also central for Britain, and connected with the sea by water and roads in all directions; but the Romans found the Brigantes a brave, hardy, and adventurous people, who did not submit until about the year 80. Eborācum became the centre of Roman life and sovereignty, and a *colonia*. There were only two *coloniæ* besides in Britain, London and Verulam, and the inhabitants of these three cities had privileges equal to those of any city of the empire, having the right to say "Civis Romanus sum", like St. Paul of Tarsus.

The regular jurisdiction of the Romans extended to the Picts' Wall, between the Forth and the Clyde, and what is now South Scotland was the province of Valentia. These two provinces, Maxima Cæsariensis and Valentia, became afterwards the English kingdom of Northumberland, between the Humber and the Forth. So important was Eborācum considered that celebrated generals and emperors lived at this city, and Severus died in it. Constantius resided here, and married Helena, supposed to be the daughter of a British king; and Constantine, who afterwards became the first Christian Emperor, is believed to have been born here, though it is uncertain, about the year 272.

During the period when the early British Christians were not persecuted as they were in the reign of Diocletian, York was important as an ecclesiastical centre, having a bishop or archbishop, who was one of three bishops present at the Council of Arles, in the south of Gaul, in the year 314.

Constantine, called the Great, having succeeded his father as Emperor of the West, became afterwards sole Emperor of Rome, and having fixed his seat at Constantinople, presided at the Council of Nicæa in the year 325. It was on the departure of this Emperor that York attained the height of its glory as a great city and seat of empire. Many proofs of this exist to this day. The system of great roads, all leading to York, prove also the

importance of the place. The Watling Street went from the shores of Kent to London, thence to Chester and York, and was continued northward over the River Tees, at Piercebridge, to the important city of Vinovia, and thence to the River Tyne, and forward to Scotland. But there was a more direct road from London, which was rapidly becoming an important commercial city, passing north to Lincoln, called the Ermine Street, and thence to Doncaster, where it met the Rykenild Street, and so to York. This Rykenild Street has been very little described, but it can be traced from Gloucester, through Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and the whole length of Derbyshire, as shown by the names Little Chester and Chesterfield, to Doncaster and York, whence it was continued to the mouth of the Tyne. Other roads connected York with all parts of Yorkshire, some of which remain in use at the present day. About the year 420 the Romans finally left Britain, and the city and province soon became a prey to the incursions of the Picts, who had been found to be formidable enemies when amongst their native Grampian Mountains. From this time both the city and the province become of less importance in the history of Britain, and little indeed is known of them until another conquering people makes its appearance across the sea.

Less than thirty years elapsed, in 449 and afterwards, when mixed Jutes and Saxons came to the southern shores of Britain, and founded kingdoms. It was much later when another people, the Angles, under Ida, in 547, founded the kingdom of Bernicia at Bamborough. In 559 followed Ella, to found the small kingdom of Deira. In 593 Ethelfrith united the two kingdoms as the kingdom of Northumberland, and the capital was removed from the stronghold of Bamborough to the Romano-British City of York, which henceforth was to play its own great part in the union and civilisation of England. From 617 to 659, during the reigns of three powerful kings, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy, the kingdom became very powerful, and York was still the most important city. London was not then of great political importance, and less so than either Canterbury or Winchester, as the capitals of Kent and the West Saxons. The strife between the two northern kingdoms having been ended, all

the people north of the Humber and to the Forth became simply Northumbrians, and as such are known in subsequent history. To this day, indeed, they are almost a separate people in many respects. The unity of the people gave political importance to the kingdom outside its own boundaries. So great had been the conquests of the three successful kings that they obtained a supremacy over a large portion of the English people, and it seemed almost possible for this supremacy to become the means of welding the various tribes of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, with Britons, Picts, and Scots, into one nation, having York as its capital.

About 658 the kingdom was at the height of its power, and as a Christian State it was doing battle with Mercia, which represented the old heathenism. Mercia triumphed, and Northumbria receded, and so, for the present, the dream of a united State was ended. The kingdom kept within its own bounds, and was saved from barbarism by Christianity and learning, by which it became more famous than it had ever been before.

The Church was the first in the field, and, indeed, she was the mother of learning. The good St. Gregory of Rome, who himself disclaimed any supremacy over the churches, instructed Augustine to divide Britain into two archbishoprics, Canterbury for the south and York for the north, the native British part being excluded for some centuries. These two cities became, therefore, the ecclesiastical centres of Britain, though the hold of York upon the Far North was not strong. In 627 Paulinus was made Archbishop of York, and tried to convert the Northumbrians. In this he failed, and retired to Kent. King Oswald invited Aidan from Iona to undertake the conversion of his people, and the see was formed at Lindisfarne, where a school was also established. Missionaries from this school went to various parts of the land, and among the most eminent of them were two brothers—Cedd, who became Bishop of the East Saxons, and Chad, who was the founder of the See of Lichfield, for the Mercian kingdom. The Conference at Whitby, in 664, tended to unite the kingdoms as well as the Churches, by bringing the north and the south together. With the failure of the supremacy of Northumberland a

new life and energy was built up in the north, and it looked rather to Iona and Ireland (then called Scotia) for its religious centre, so that there was a close connection between Britain and Ireland. The meeting of kings and prelates at Whitby altered this, and a union with Canterbury was the result, especially as at this time there was no Archbishop at York, and the learned Theodore was the sole Archbishop in the whole of Britain.

York still continued to be the greatest centre of English life and learning, though its political importance had somewhat decreased. A great scholar was born in 673, who was not only the most learned man of his age, but who was the cause of the great spread of learning in Northumberland. The Venerable Bæda, or Bede, gathered around him, at the Monastery of Jarrow on the Tyne, numbers of students, said to amount to six hundred. He was the true father of national education, for he taught his pupils to translate from Latin into the native Northumbrian tongue. He was also connected with the monastery or school at Wearmouth, and libraries were formed there, and at the monastery or school which had been formed at York. Bede stands alone as a translator and historian, and his influence extended to York and other places. He died in 735, after a life of literary labour, and one of his pupils was Alcuin, a native of York. Alcuin was educated by two learned Archbishops, Egbert and Albert, and he became the most learned and accomplished man of his age, adding to the fame of York as a place of learning. He was invited by Charlemagne, Emperor of the West, to his dominions, where he founded various schools of learning. Thus, in the middle of the eighth century, York and Northumberland became the literary centre of Christian Europe in its western parts. A great school had been founded at Canterbury, and the influence of this in the south, and of York in the north, penetrated throughout all England, and created a great advance of learning. Whitby had been early famous for its Abbey, under the Lady Hilda, and it produced one of the greatest lights of the day in the humble cowherd named Cædmon. The first true English song was heard there, and it was a spontaneous talent which produced it. "What shall I sing?" he said; and the answer was, "The beginning of created things." And so the poet sang, in

Northumbrian speech, of the creation of the world, of the leading events in the history of Israel, the birth of Christ, and of the future state.

During this most glorious period of the history of the kingdom, Alfred, or Ælfrith, was king from 685 to 705, and he and his successors were in intimate communication with the sovereigns of Western Europe, as this was considered the most powerful kingdom in the country, and York the greatest capital. This state of things continued until 827, when Northumberland—nominally, at least—submitted to the supremacy of Egbert, King of the West Saxons; but it was not until the time of Athelstan that there was a real King of all England in fact and in name.

Serious troubles again affected York and the Earldom of Northumberland, when the Danes conquered the country in 867, and finally settled in it, becoming blended with the people. Guthrum, however, was supreme over the old kingdom, as well as a great part of the east country, being recognised as king at York, whilst Alfred reigned over the remainder of England.

In time the two peoples became one, superior in energy to the inhabitants of other parts of the country, and retaining the distinctive characters of their Anglian and Scandinavian forefathers.

After London had grown in importance and become the capital of the whole country, York was considered the second city of England, which position it still nominally holds, by its chief magistrate being styled "Lord Mayor". In ecclesiastical matters it was the capital of the North, and until the foundation of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, in 1446, all Scotland was really or nominally under its jurisdiction, with the exception of the Western Isles, which for two or three centuries were under the authority of Drontheim, in Norway.

York has lost its great school at St. Mary's Abbey, once so famous, and which ought to have been made into a University, so that it might have still remained the literary as well as ecclesiastical centre of the north of England. It is, however, well represented by its daughter, the Royal Grammar School of St. Peter. If the ancient glories are departed, compared with other places, York has a grand history to look back upon, and it has done its part in the life and learning of England.

ON A MAGICAL ROLL PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY W. SPARROW-SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., SUB-DEAN OF
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

ON two previous occasions I have read papers before the Association upon some remarkable forms of popular superstition: the first paper, "On the Measure of the Wound in the Side of the Redeemer", and its use as a charm; the second, "On a Magical Roll of the Seventeenth Century."¹ I propose, in the present paper, to complete the trilogy by the examination of another Roll which preserves a charm very similar in its character to that indicated above.

The Magical Roll which is the subject of the present memoir is printed *in extenso* as an appendix to it. Unhappily the Roll is somewhat defaced; and the first portion of it, which is by far the most interesting, is so illegible that a transcript of it must necessarily be fragmentary and imperfect. But I have found in Hearne's *Reliquiæ* copious notes upon a similar parchment Roll, with which the MS. now printed may advantageously be compared, and which will in effect enable us to supply some of the *lacunæ*.

Thomas Hearne tells us that he transcribed the "parchment Roll" on April 21, 1710.² It was written, as he thinks, "by an ignorant scribe about three hundred years ago." The Roll contained a picture of Our Lord, a picture of St. Veronica, figures of the three nails, the crown of thorns, the five wounds, the seamless coat, the dice, the scourge, the rod, the cock, the pillar, and the hammer—the usual symbols of the Passion. Then follows an indulgence of Pope Innocent:

"Pope Innocent hath graunted to what man or woman that dayly worchyppeht the v pryncypall woundes of oure Lorde Jhesu

¹ See the British Archæological Association *Journal* for 1874, vol. xxx, pp. 357-74, and the *Journal* for 1884, vol. xl, pp. 297-332.

² *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, edited by Philip Bliss, 2nd edition, vol. i, pp. 193-8. 8vo., Lond., 1869.

Cryste with v pater nosters, v aves, and a crede, pyteously beholdyng or remembring the armys of Crystys passion, schall have the vii partes of there penaunce released yn the paynys of purgatory, and vii petycyous ryghtwysly asked :

“The fyrst he schall not dye none evyll deth.

“The ij he schall not be slayne with no wepyn.

“The iij he schall not passe oute of thys wordyll withoute the sacrament of holy chyrche.

“The iiij fals wytnesse schall not greve hym.

“The v he schall have suffycent goodes and honest lyvyng.

“The vj he schall not be wrongfully yuged.¹

“The vij he schall be defended from all wycked sprytes by the grace of God.”

The indulgence is succeeded by an exceedingly interesting hymn in English :

“Jhesu, for thyne holy name,
And for thy bytter passyon,
Save us frome syn and schame
And fromme endles dampnacyon,
And bryng us to the blysse
That never shall have ende.
Swete Jhesu. Amen.”

A rude drawing of the cross, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, is then given. On the transverse beam, IN NOMINE IHESV SIGNO SIGNO ; and on the stem, five Tau crosses, between which are the words (probably not very accurately copied) NO, ME, TA, YOW ; and below, one of the five wounds.

“Thys crosse xv tymys metyn ys the lenght of oure Lorde Jhesu Cryst, and what day ye looke theron and blesse yow therewith, there schall no wycked spryte have no power to hurte yow, nother thunder nor lytenyng, ne tempeste on londe nor upon watyr schall not greve yow, nor ye schall not be overcumme with youre enemy bodyly ne gostly ne comberyd with no fendys. And yef a woman have thys crosse on hyr whan sche travellyth of chylde, sche shall sone be delyverde, and the chylde schall have crystendū and the mother puryfycacyon of holy church. Seint Cyriate and Seint Julitte desyred thes petycyonys of God, and he graunted them, as hyt ys registeryd yn Rome at Saynte John Laterens.”

Then follows this antiphon with a various reading :—

“Salve decus² parvulorum
Miles Regis angelorum

¹ *Sic* ; but probably for “juged”, *i.e.*, judged.

² Hearne reads *deus* for *decus*, but I venture to restore the true reading : he also reads *mile* for *miles*.

O Cirite cum beate genitrice tua Julitta.
 Christus et Maria nos salvet mortis in hora.
 Speciosa est in conspectu domini mors sanctorum¹ ejus."

The prayer, "Deus, qui gloriosis martiribus", is followed by this rubric and the ejaculations to the cross :

"Whoever sayth thys prayer followyng devowtely, there schall no wyked spryte have power to hurte hym, nor he schall not be combred with fyre ne water.

"Crux Christi sit semper mecum . ✠ .
 Crux Christi est quam semper adoro . ✠ .
 Crux ✠ Christi ✠ superat gladium.
 Crux Christi ✠ solvet vincula mortis.
 Crux ✠ Christi est armatura invincibilis.
 Crux Christi ✠ est via et veritas.
 Super creucem divinam ✠ aggredier iter . ✠ .
 Crux Christi ✠ impedit omne malum.
 Crux Christi ✠ dat omne bonum.
 Crux Christi ✠ auferat penam æternam . ✠ .
 Crux Christi ✠ salva me . ✠ .
 Crux Christi sit super me ✠ ante me et post me.
 Quia antiquus hostis fugit ubi te vidit . ✠ .
 In nomine Patris ✠ et Filii ✠ et Spiritus Sancti. Amen."

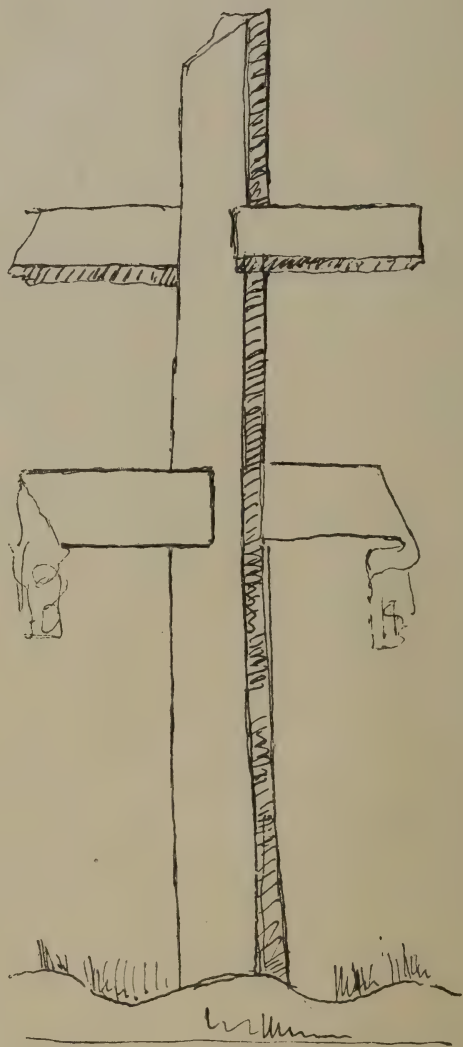
This Roll, when Hearne transcribed it, "was in the possession of Mr. Josiah Pullen of Magdalen College, Oxford. It had previously belonged to Bishop Barlow, who had written "on the back side of this Roll"—

"Orationes (præsertim ultima illa ad crucem) sunt prorsus impiæ. Deo Patri, et Salvatori nostro Jesu Christo, cum S. Spiritu gratias quas possumus maximas (licet quales et quantas debemus non possumus) agamus; eo quod pro infinita sua benignitate, et tenebris, superstitione, ignorantia, et tyrannide Pontificiis, communicata evangelii luce, nos licet indignos liberaverint. ΓΕΩΩΓΤΟ."

Against the names of "Seint Cyriate and Seint Juliette", Bishop Barlow had also written "Sanct. Quiricum et Julittam intelligit. Vid. Baronii *Martyrologium Rom.* ad diem 16 Junii, lit. B." Dr. Langbaine, a still earlier possessor, had also recorded his judgment upon the subject :—

"Lege et luge majorum vices, qui ignorantia cæci superstitionibus hujusmodi obnoxii agebant; tuas gaude, qui ab his liberaris :

¹ Hearne reads *seculorum* for *sanctorum*.



CROSS FROM HARLEY ROLL, 43, A. 14. British Museum.

Fifteenth Century.

sed vide interim, ut Christo liberatori servias in sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso omnibus diebus tuis."

Our indefatigable Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. de G. Birch, has contributed a paper, "On Two Anglo-Saxon MSS. in the British Museum," to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature (vol. xi, New Series), from which some further interesting illustrations of the present Roll may be obtained; for in the first of the two MSS. (Titus, D. xxvi) the third article treats "De Mensura Salvatoris."¹ It is as follows:—

"Hæc figura sedecies multiplicata perficit mensuram domini nostri ihesu Christi corporis & est assumpta a ligno pretioso dominee. Crux Christi de .iiij^{or}. lignis facta est. qui vocantur cipressus. & cedrus & pinus & buxus. Sed buxus non fuit in cruce nisi tabula de illo ligno super frontem Christi fuerat in qua conscriptum judei illud titulum habuerunt. *Hic est rex judeorum.*"

The words "Hæc figura" imply that the scribe had intended to add a figure of the cross itself. He has, however, omitted to do so. Mr. Birch supplies such a representation from the Harleian Roll, 43, A. 14,—“a narrow roll of paper containing a drawing of a cross, with the following lines below it in English of the fifteenth century.” The text of the Roll is as follows:—

"This cross xv tymys metyn ys y^e lenght of oure lord Ihū criste. And y^t day y^t yⁿ beryst it vpon y^e or lokest y^{er} vpon yⁿ shalt haue yese gret giftes y^t folowyth. The furst is yⁿ schalt die no soden deth. The seconde is yⁿ schalt not be hurte nor slayne w^t no maner of wepyn. The iij^d is yⁿ shalt haue reasonabull godis & helth vnto y^y lyuys ende. The iiijth is yyne enmys shalle neuer ouyr com y^e. The vth is no maner of preson nor fals wytnes shall neuyr greue y^e. The vith is yⁿ shalt not die w^toute the sacramentes of the chirche. The viith is yⁿ schalt be defended from all maner of wykkid spryttes tribulacons & dissesis & from all infirmitees & sekenis of y^e pestilence. The viijth is yf a woman be in travell of childe lay yis vpon her womb and y^e childe schall haue cristindom & y^e moder schall haue purificacōn ffor Seynt Cerice and Seynt Julitt his moder desired yise graciouse gyftis of God which he grauntid vn to yem and yis is regestird on Rome.

"Salue decus parvulorum
Miles Regis Angelorum.

¹ By an error of the original scribe the article is entitled "De Mensiū Salvatoris."

“ O cerice cum beata Julitta . christus ✠ et maria ✠ nos saluet in hora mortis nostre. Amen.

“ Preciosa est in conspectu Dei ✠ mors sanctorum eius.

“ Deus qui gloriosis martiribus”, etc.

The special interest of these three manuscripts lies in the circumstance that the stature of our Blessed Lord forms the main feature of the charm or amulet. In the paper on the measure of the wound in the side of Our Lord, already referred to, we have had a remarkable example of a once popular amulet. Here is another example of an analogous nature. I had thought it not unlikely that these manuscripts might represent a current tradition as to the height of our Redeemer, but whether the scribe who copied the Hearne MS. was careless or indifferent, or ignorant of any such tradition, cannot now be determined. The three manuscripts under consideration give the following results :—

In British Museum MS., Titus D, xxvi, the cross depicted is about 5 ins. in length—15 times 5 ins.=6 ft. 3 ins. In Hearne’s manuscript the cross measures about $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins.—15 times $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins.=5 ft. $10\frac{7}{8}$ ins.; whilst in the Magical Roll now printed (British Museum, Rot. Harl. T, 11) the cross measures 15 times 5 ins. = 6 ft. 3 ins., as in the first instance.

Western tradition generally represents Our Lord as being of commanding stature. The *Letter of Lentulus*, a late mediæval forgery,¹ says of the Redeemer: “ He is a man of lofty stature, handsome, having a venerable countenance, which the beholders can both see and fear.... In stature of body, He is tall.” Didron, in his *Christian Iconography*, gives the Latin text :² “ Vir est altæ staturæ proportionate.....Protracta statura corporis.”

St. John of Damascus, a writer of the eighth century, says, “Trium forte cubitorum magnitudine præstanti statura.”³ Mrs. Jameson⁴ quotes part of the passage, but gives no exact reference.

The legend of S. Anschaire,⁵ Archbishop of Hamburg

¹ B. Harris Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 221, 222, 2nd edition.

² Didron, i, 247, from Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus*.

³ Didron, i, 248, quoting St. John Damasc., *Opera*, i, 630, 631.

⁴ *History of Our Lord*, i, 35.

⁵ Didron, i, 248.

and Bremen, in the ninth century, describing a vision of the Person of the Lord, speaks of Him as “*statura procerus*”.

In my paper on the measure of the wound in the side of the Redeemer¹ will be found a short account of the *Sindon Taurinensis*, and of the *Sindon Vesontina*, where it said :

“*Staturam corporis Christi, a vertice ad calcem usque, in Sudario Vesontino reperi sex pedum geometricorum, tribus digitis minus ; seu, quod eodem recidit, quinque pedum et trium quartarum unius pedis, duodenum enim digitorum, ut solet, pedem mathematicum facio.*”²

At the Church of San Stefano, at Bologna, in the *Confessio*, “one of the pillars professes to give the exact height of our Saviour”.³

Our Magical Roll brings comfort to the sleepless ; they have but to write out the names *Beatorum Dormiencium*, and place the scroll beneath their heads, to ensure repose.

The devotion to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is scarcely so familiar to English readers as that to the Three Kings of Cologne. All are aware that

“Caspar brings myrrh ; Melchior, incense ; Balthasar, gold. Whoever carries these three names about with him will, through Christ, be free from the falling sickness.”⁴

Everyone who has visited the magnificent Cathedral at Cologne has seen the Shrine of the Three Kings, still well worthy of minute examination, though it has lost many of its most precious gems.

Perhaps it may be as well to add a few particulars about the singular legend of the Seven Sleepers, found in most Lives of the Saints.

“During the persecution under the Emperor Decius there lived in the City of Ephesus seven young men who were Christians: their names were Maximinian, Malchus, Marcian, Dionysius, John, Serapion, and Constantine. As they refused to offer sacrifice to the idols, they were accused before the tribunal ; but they fled, and escaped

¹ *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxx, 363.

² Quaresmius, *Historia Theologica ac Moralis Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio*, 532.

³ Murray's *Handbook of North Italy*.

⁴ Ennemoser's *History of Magic*, ii, 95. (Tiedeman, 102.)

to Mount Coelian, where they hid themselves in a cave. Being discovered, the tyrant ordered that they should roll great stones to the mouth of the cavern, in order that they might die of hunger. They, embracing each other, fell asleep."¹

Their slumbers lasted till the thirtieth year of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, when the cavern was discovered by an inhabitant of Ephesus. The Sleepers were aroused. They thought that their slumbers had lasted but a single night. They despatch one of their number, Malchus, to the city to buy food. He offers to the baker, in payment for his loaves, a coin of Decius. The citizens think that Malchus has discovered some hoarded treasure, and they take him to the Bishop, to whom he relates his story. Theodosius himself hastens to the cave, where one of the Sleepers exhorts him, saying, "We have been raised, O Emperor, that thou mightest believe in the Resurrection of the dead." Having uttered these words, they expired. They had slept 196 years.

It is a wide-spread legend, found in the whole of Western Christendom, in Abyssinia, in Scandinavia. Mahomet, it is said, introduces it into the Koran.

The Seven Sleepers are found in the *Musæum Victorium*² at Rome, on an engraved gem (*une pierre qui ressemble assez à une pierre précieuse*³). Each has his name, and an accompanying symbol: John and Constantine have each a club, Malchus and Marcian an axe, Denis a large nail, Serapion a torch, and Maximinian a knotted club. Mrs. Jameson suggests that these may be intended for implements used in their respective trades: the story will not allow them to be instruments of their martyrdom.

Varying versions of the legend will be found in Mr. Baring Gould's *Lives of the Saints*. There are sometimes eight sleepers, and their sleep lasts over 372 years. Photius calls them Maximilian, Jamblicus, Martin, Dionysius, Exacustodian, Antoninus, and John. Names given by other narrators are Dianus, Melito, Diomed.

¹ Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, ii, 581.

² *Les Petits Bollandistes*, July 27.

³ Mr. Baring Gould describes this "pierre" as a "curious cast of sulphur and plaster."

King Edward the Confessor, one Easter Day, musing in his palace at Westminster, saw the Seven Sleepers, who for two hundred years had been lying on their right sides, in a cavern of Mount Celion, suddenly turn to their left sides : they would so lie, he said, seventy-four years—years of war, pestilence, and famine. Earl Harold sent a messenger to ascertain the truth of this vision, who, being admitted to the cave, found them lying as the King had said. Hence it is, I suppose, that the Seven Sleepers are represented on the frieze of the Chapel of Edward the Confessor at Westminster.

They are commemorated in the Sarum Breviary by three lessons and the following Collect :—

“Oratio. Deus qui gloriosos resurrectionis æternæ præcones septem dormientes magnifice coronasti: præsta, quæsumus, ut eorum precibus resurrectionem sanctam, quæ in eis mirabiliter præstensa est, consequamur. Per Dominum.”

“Seincte Cyriac and Seinct Julite”, whose names appear in the Roll, are to be found in the *Martyrologies*.

S. Cyriac was a Deacon of Rome, martyred under Diocletian.¹ “S. Cyriaque, Diacre, et ses compagnons..... transférés par saint Marcellin, Pape, dans le champ de Lucine sur la voie d’Ostie.”²

S. Julitta, a wealthy lady, was martyred at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, about the year 303. S. Basil pronounced a homily upon her *circa* 375.³ Her name occurs in a Litany in the Sarum Breviary.⁴

Unconnected with the Magical Roll, which forms the subject of this paper, but yet having a certain kindred interest, I venture to submit to the readers of this paper the following extracts, which I have taken from the *Burleigh Papers* in the British Museum.⁵

¹ Baring Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, August 8.

² *Les Petits Bollandistes*. Alban Butler says that their bodies “were translated into a farm of the devout lady Lucina, on the Ostian Road, on the eighth day of August.”

³ Baring Gould, *Lives*, July 30 ; but the Sarum Breviary gives June 16, and in another place July 15.

⁴ *Brev. ad Usum Sarum. Fascic. ii, p. 257.*

⁵ Lansdowne MS. 96, art. 44, f. 104,

The extracts are endorsed, "A Popish Charm or Spel; An Antem or Hymn." Each is interesting, though the Catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS. describes the paper as containing "some ridiculous Popish charms or spells, in miserable rhyme, the recital of which is to procure pardon for sins, protection from spirits, etc."

The first is, obviously, an ejaculation to be made when one first sees the new moon. In Suffolk I used to be told, when I was a child, that it was unlucky to see it for the first time through glass, and also that one ought to turn the money in one's pocket. The second is a hymn of no little beauty; the third, a well-known prayer at bed-time; and the fourth (for there are really four articles), the "Fridaye spell", is a short poem on the Passion.

PRAYERS.

"Newe moone, newe moone, welcome be the | and all the three
vertues that thowe broughteste w'th the | One for the | Another
for me | And one to helpe the man or beaste for St. Charytye.

"God that made boythe daye & neight
the mone shyne and the starres soe lyght
The holye sonne that shines soe bryght
kepe youe and save youe from all ill sprytes
God hym send bothe farre and neare
that bought w'th his blode soe deare."

"In nomine patris at my Crowne
filius speritus vpp & downe
Corpus Christi att my Breste
Jesus Take my soule into reste
In the name of the father & of the sone
And of the holye goste Amen."

"Not': this she callethe the Frydaye spell :—

"This daye is Fridaye faste while we maye
While wee heare knyll' o' Lords owne bell
o' Lorde in his Chappell stode, wth his xij appostells soe
good
There Came a Saynte throughe ryghte robe
what is yt that shynes soe bryght, o' Lorde God almyghte
He was naled sore, farre and in goore
Throughe lyver, throughe longe, throughe harte, throughe
tonge
Throughe the holye brayne panne, well is that man tha
Frydaye spell can
He for to saye and his fellowes for to learne

So manye tymes as youe saye this on Frydaye before noone
 So manye tymes shall your synnes be forgoen youe att
 Domesdaye. Amen."

It may seem scarcely worth while to rescue from utter oblivion these curious relics of the superstition of our forefathers. These days in which we live are, we are told, days of progress, of light, of advanced education, of Board schools, of numberless means of enlightenment. No doubt we have made some progress since the days of Queen Elizabeth, of Lord Burleigh, and of Shakespeare. But even the electric telegraph has not dispelled the dark clouds of folly and of blind superstition.

The *Times* of July 2, 1891, tells us, in its Russian intelligence, of six peasants who were tried before the Criminal Sessions Court of Samara, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment "for deliberately disinterring the body of a woman, who had died of intoxication, and floating it down the Volga *as a means of causing rain*. It seems to be quite a fixed belief among the Russian peasantry that throwing the dead body of a drunkard into the river is a sure cure for want of rain."

Here is a remarkable scene from Sicily. I am quoting from the *Times* of February 21, 1891, which devotes a paragraph to "The Religion and Superstition of the Sicilian Peasant."

SICILIAN PEASANTS.—Mr. Stigand, the British Consul at Palermo, in his last report, describes the Sicilian peasant as assiduous and devout in his religious practices, and although there is much superstition, there is no doubt the people are sincere in their simple-hearted and ignorant way. They attend the functions of the Mass regularly, and on Sundays and Feast-days the churches are thronged by both men, women, and children—the dogs of the family frequent the churches as regularly as their masters—and though the service is, with some exceptions, performed in Latin, they seem intuitively to understand its tenour, performing all the genuflections at the proper time, and crossing and beating of the breast at the "Credo" and "Elevations", with the uniformity of soldiers on parade. Simple votive offerings to Saint and Shrine, for real or supposed mercies, are most common, and if they make a vow when in trouble, they are sure to keep it in the most rigorous fashion, even when it entails great suffering. Every man and woman have their favourite saints, after whom they are named, and the labourer, when working in the field with his fellows, will often call upon his guardian saint in a loud voice, and, after he has called his comrades, shout, "Viva San Giuseppe!" or "Viva San Francesco!" as the case may be. And in some parts, also, pedestrians are greeted by the peasants with the salutation of "Viva Gesù", to

which the pedestrians reply, "Viva Gesù e Maria", or *vice versâ*. The Vice-Consul at Messina mentions a characteristic example of a Sicilian pilgrimage. At a mountain town about fifty miles from Messina there is a *festa* in September called the Madonna of the Chain (Madonna della Catena). If a man is dangerously ill, or in trouble, or in love, or for whatever reason it may be, he vows to go for one, two, three, or four years on the pilgrimage of the "Madonna della Catena". The devotees strip themselves of all but a cloth about their loins. They have in their hands soft pieces of pithy wood called *sferza*, about the diameter of a penny piece, through which are stuck from forty to fifty pins, their points projecting one-eighth of an inch. The procession starts from the town to the chapel of the Madonna della Catena, about four miles distant; the men stab themselves with these pins on the shoulders, breast, thighs, and legs, shouting all the time, the women encouraging them with wine and bread, and a priest leads the way with a banner. When the Vice-Consul saw this there were over one hundred men in the procession, and the stabs given over and over again on the same spots caused horrible bleeding tumours, and two deaths occurred. The women who have made vows pass their tongues upon the ground through every impurity from the church door to the high altar. The men, it is said, never break a vow when made under the sense of religion.

But, indeed, we need not travel so far as to Russia, nor even to Sicily, to find illustrations of human credulity: London will supply us with a fund of examples. Let one suffice.

In the *Morning Post* of April 17, 1884, occurs the following notice of an old but still extant superstition. Certain proceedings took place at the Thames Police Court, in which

A woman named Lyons was charged with violently assaulting a woman named O'Brien, by striking her over the head with some heavy instrument, tearing out some of her hair, and knocking her down. The prisoner admitted the assault, but said the prosecutrix struck her first. The dispute, she explained, arose out of the loss of her shawl, which had disappeared in a mysterious way. She felt certain that it had been stolen, and she therefore made up her mind to find out the thief by means of the "Bible and key"—a test, she said, which never failed. She accordingly invited several friends to her room. She got a key and a Bible, and laying the Bible upon the table, she took the key, and, after tying a piece of string to it, placed it inside the Bible, with the wards flat upon the leaves. She then closed the book, and, sitting so that those in the room could see her, she took in her hand the part of the key which she had left projecting, and pronounced the names of the persons she was acquainted with, repeating after each name the words, "Turn, Bible, turn, turn round the key; turn, key, turn, and show the name to me." She repeated several names, but no sign was given. At last she mentioned the name of Mrs. O'Brien, and then the key gave such a turn that it twisted itself out of her hand and fell on

to the floor. She picked it up and replaced it, and then in the same way she got the name of the pawnbroker where her shawl was pledged. The prosecutrix, who was not the Mrs. O'Brien discovered by the key, went and told the other Mrs. O'Brien, who was meant, that she (the prisoner) had marked her down for stealing the shawl, and this caused a row, and then the prosecutrix attacked her and she only took her own part. Ultimately the magistrate bound both women over to keep the peace.

There are still happy hunting grounds for the charlatan, the fortune teller, and the impostor who is audacious enough to lay claim to the possession of magical knowledge. There are still believers in palmistry and astrology, and these are not exclusively limited to the least educated classes.

Canon Atkinson, in his very interesting *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, gives minute particulars of a charm which was actually in use in his own immediate neighbourhood, Danby in Cleveland, within living memory.

"The largest farmer in the parish" of which he is speaking, "a right good sort, and a fair specimen of the old, untutored, unschooled, Yorkshire yeoman, with a large amount of natural shrewdness at the bottom, and with any amount of credulity in some directions, and obstinate incredulity in others, mainly on the side where reason and knowledge lay," was the possessor of the charm. "He could neither read nor write—by no means an unknown thing among the Dales farmers of fifty years ago. He had a lively sense of the actuality of the witch, of her power, of her malice." His cattle died in a mysterious manner. He did not attribute their untimely end to general bad management, or insufficient food, or poor pasturage. He was quite certain that they were bewitched. But Dr. Atkinson shall relate, in his own words, the method adopted to defeat the machinations of the malevolent witch.

"Among other ways and means, Jonathan employed a standing charm, and when he died it was found in (as was to be presumed) full operation, in his standing desk, or bureau, with a white-handled pen-knife, half open, laid in front of it. It consisted of a half-sheet of letter-paper, folded in the fashion of those days when as yet the envelope was undiscovered, and sealed with three black seals, inserted between each two of which was a hackle from a red cock's neck. This, when opened, was found to have a pentacle, inscribed within a circle, drawn on it. It is somewhat difficult to make out which is top and which is bottom, but, from such indications as there are, I assume that the point from which the passage from the Bible, which surrounds the circle just named, begins to read is the bottom. The said extract is, IN HIM SHALL BE THE STRENGTH OF THY HAND. HE SHALL KEEP THEE IN SIX TROUBLES, YEA, EVEN IN SEVEN SHALL NO HARM COME TO THEE,¹ the

¹ See Job, v, 19: "He shall deliver thee in six troubles; yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee."

"thee" being interlined over the word "come". In the central hexagonal space formed by the mutual intersection of the three triangles which form the figure, is what is meant for a short sentence of three words in the Hebrew character, but is really a mere rough imitation, such as might be made by an ignorant impostor, who knew the general characteristics of the Hebrew as printed. There are then six triangular spaces formed by the cutting off of the apices of the composing triangles by the intersecting sides of the same, and, beginning with the lowest (as we are regarding the diagram) and proceeding to the right, round the circle, in the first (or lowest) is the word *AGLA*; in the next, the letters or the word *EL*; in the third, *ON*; in the fourth, and upside down as we are regarding it, the word *NALGAH*, and a cross above it; in the fifth, *ADONAI*; and in the sixth, *SADAI*. Besides these triangular spaces there are six other spaces, formed by the segments of the containing circle cut off between the several apices of the constituent triangles, and the sides of the small vertical triangles already noted. Taking as the first of these that on the left of the triangular space numbered as the first, just above, the words inscribed are *CARO VERBUM FACTUM EST*; and proceeding in the same direction as before, in the second the inscription is *IESU CHRISTI NAZARENUS REX IUDÆORUM*; in the third, the word *PERMUMAITON*; in the fourth, *AMATI SCHEMA*; in the fifth, *SADAI*; and in the sixth, *ADONAI*. Turning the charm the other way up, nearly underneath the cross above named, as it now stands, begins the sentence, *YE ARE EVERLASTING POWER OF GOD THEOS*; and then at the bottom of all, in a straight line, the words, *HOC IN VINCE*, all run together, as was the case also in the sentence previously noticed. This last, doubtless, refers directly to the sign of the cross made immediately above, in the small triangle containing the word *NALGAH*.¹

If any members of the Association should, by chance, have read my previous paper on a Seventeenth Century Magical Roll, they will have seen a series of charms some of which may have supplied the material with which this particular charm was constructed.

TRANSCRIPT OF A MAGICAL ROLL.

(*British Museum, Rot. Harl. T. 11.*)

*"Worshipp thus crosse wyth saing off v paternoster v auex
and a crede.*

"This crosse² Imete xv .. ys the ...gh' of our Lord Ih'u Crist and what day that a man or woman ... ther ... or blesse hym ther wyth or bere hyt upon hym ther ... no person to hurt the .. lyght ... see nor wyndys nor ... shall' not hurt the nor ... will be

¹ Dr. Atkinson, *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish* (Danby in Cleveland), pp. 94, 96. 8vo., London, 1891.

² In the margin a cross is drawn.

ouer commyd nor .. wy'th no ... but confessyon ... shamefull' de... water and yf ye ... dedly syn ye shall nor ... ther euer for seincte Cyryce & seinct Julite his moder deseryd this bowne of Almyghty God which was grauntyd them from all harmys and poyson they shall be deleu'yd and breke ther enemys & encesse them in worly & gooddiz & yf a woman be trauelyng of chyld ley this or set this on her & she shall be deleueryd þe child to haue crestendom & the moder purificacion for this is regestridd at Rome at John' Latoranensez."

"Salue¹ decus paruulorum, milez Regis angelorum, S. Cirice cum beata genitrice tua inclitus Christus et Maria nos saluet in hora mortis nostre. Amen.

"Preciosa est in conspectu Domini Mors sanctorum eius.

"*Oremus.*

"Deus qui gloriosis martiribus tuis Cirico et Julite tribuisti dira nephande iudicis tormenta superare, tribue michi famulo tuo N. humilitatem et virtutem² gloriose longitudinis tue et venerabilis crucis preciosi corporis tui et omnes potencias et virtutes tuas [per] intercessionem sanctorum tuorum concedas michi triumphum omnium inimicorum meorum et ut possim semper retinere constanciam per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

"*Si vis ut mulier cito pareat et sine dolore has literas in dextra manu eius mitto³ et statim pareat.* ✠ Sator ✠ arepo ✠ tenet ✠ opera ✠ rotas ✠.⁴ Sancta Anna peperit beatissimam Virginem Mariam, Maria X'm Saluatorem, sic et hec mulier pareat, in nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi panditur in terra Dominus Omnipotentis Olympi. Jam noua progenies celo dimittitur alto.

"*Ad eos qui dormire non possunt hec nomina scribe et ad capud infirmi ponat.* Respice omnipotens Deus et quia proprie acciones grauat beatorum dormiencium Melchi, Marciniani, Maximiani,

¹ In his *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*, Kehrein gives two hymns for St. Cyriac: No. 543, "De Torrente Passionis"; No. 886, "Christi Miles Inclytus". But I do not find the hymn in the text in Kehrein, nor in Mone, nor in Daniel.

² In the MS. (Brit. Mus.) Titus, D. xxvi, the reading is "in virtute gloriosi corporis et sanguinis Tui et omnipotenciarum et virtutum per."

³ *Mitto: sic, for mitte.*

⁴ It will be observed that this charm, when printed thus,—

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

exhibits the peculiarity of presenting the same reading when read in different ways,—horizontally, vertically, etc. See *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xl, pp. 313-15.

Dionicij Johannez Seraphion Constantynus gloriosus intercessionibus requiei sopore adipiscatur.

"Contra dolorem et mortem subitanam standi vel sedendi. ✠ Crux sancta et beata fruendi ✠ Crux beata mors moriendi ✠ Idem crux gloriosa ferari ✠ Crux clara leball' ✠ Crux splendida guttam in corpore Christi dedicata es conserva me famulum tuum. *N.* ab omni angustia.

"Quicumque super se portauerit in die nec nocte in igne in aqua in bello non ei nocent nec morte subitanea nec in paupertate. ✠ Christus paraclitus Filius Dei viui liberet me *N.* corpus et animam a Sathana. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Et in virtute sancte ✠ crucis. Amen. ✠ *p s o a k l n u a.* ✠ *Thus aurum omnibus in Deo vincit omnia mala Amen* ✠ *p a o r s r* ✠ *ducta corrupta ope lenti* corrupea sta ferrum non facias vulnus in me famulo Dei *N.* non in carne nec in ossibus nec in nervis sta gladio. ✠ In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Hoc imperat ille qui fecit Jordane stare ✠ Marcus ✠ Matheus ✠ Lucas ✠ et Johannes ✠."

"Pope Innocent the viij hath grauntyd that who so euer man or woman that beryth the lenght of this naylis upon hym & worshipith' deuoutly the iij naylis¹ of our' Lord Ihesu Crist w^t v. pater noster & v. auez & a crede he shall' haue grauntyd to hym vij yeftiz. the first yefte he shall' not dey of the soden deth' nor evyll' deth. the second yeft he shall' not bee slayn' w^t no swerd' nor w^t no wepyn. the iij that his Enemys shall' haue no power to ouer comme hym. the iiij that no poyson nor fals wyttensesse shall' not greue hym. the vth yefte he shall' haue suffycient goodds & honest lyuyng in this world' y^e vj he shall' not dey without receyuyng' the holy sacram't of the church' the vij. yefte he shall' be deleueryd from all wykyd spyritz feuers pesteleus & other malicyeus. And this ys the very lengh' of Cristiz nayliz which' most be holdy as a relekys & worshipith deuot deuoutly w^t sayng of v pater noster & v auez & a crede."

(Here occur several drawings of circles enclosing magical signs with inscriptions.)

"This is the mesur of the blessyd wound² that our Lord Ihesu Crist had in h^s right syde the whiche an angell' brought to Charlamayn the nobyll' emperour of Constantyne wyth yn a cofer of gold saing this in his tetyll' that who so euer man or woman hauyng this mesur on hym shall' not be slayn wyth no swerd' nor spere. nor no shot shall' not hurt the. nor no man shall' not ouer comme hym in batell'. nor fire nor water shall' not noy hym & yf

¹ In the margin are drawn the three nails of the Passion, each about 7 inches in length.

² In the margin is a drawing of the wound: it is lozenge-shaped, about 1½ inch in length, enclosed in a longer lozenge 2¾ inches in length. On the Devotion to the Five Wounds, see also *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, viii, 443.

a woma[n] be trauelyng of child' that day that she shuld' haue sayn the said mesur. that day she shall' not be perysh' but the child to haue crestendom & the moder puryfycacion for this ys provyd' for euery man that goth' to a sault of ar[mes] hauyng thys mesur on hym shall' haue the victory & honour upon his enemys.

"Benedictio Dei Patris omnipotentis cum omnibus angelis suis sit super me.

"Benedictio Filio suo¹ cum omnibus angelis (apostolis²) suis sit super me.

"Benedictio Sancti Spiritus cum omnibus sanctis³ suis sit super me.

"Benedictio beate Marie cum Filio suo sit super me.

"Benedictio beate Ecclesie catholice sit super me.

"Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Syon montem sanctum eius predicans preceptum eius. Nam et si ambulauero in medio tribulacionis vivificabis me et super iram inimicorum meorum extendisti manum tuam et saluum me fecit De[us]."

"Here ben the namys off our Lord Ihesu Crist.

"Messias ✠ Sother ✠ Emanuell ✠ Sabaoth ✠ Adonay ✠ Vnigenitus ✠ Sapiencia ✠ Vertus ✠ Ego sum ✠ Qui sum ✠ Via ✠ Manus ✠ Homo ✠ VSION ✠ Saluator ✠ Origo ✠ Vita ✠ Spes ✠ Caritas ✠ Oria ✠ Panton ✠ Craton ✠ Ysus ✠ Kyrus ✠ Mediator ✠ Eon ✠ Agnus ✠ Ouis [✠] Vitulus ✠ Serpens ✠ Leo ✠ Vermis ✠ Primus ✠ Nouissimus ✠ Lex ✠ Pafer ✠ Eternus ✠ Trinitas ✠ Vnitas ✠ Amen.

"Hec decem nomina sunt apud Hebryos: quicunque hec nomina super se portauerit nec in aqua nec in igne nec in bello nec in iudicio peribit ✠ Hel ✠ Heloy ✠ Iohell ✠ Hele ✠ Adonay ✠ Sabaoth ✠ Tetragta ✠ Maton ✠ Loth ✠ Hely ✠ Iamo ✠ In nomine Patris ✠ et Filij et Spiritus Sancti ✠ Amen ✠."

(Drawings with legends.)

"Ad restrengendum sanguinem accipe ista tria nomina et liga ad capillos ✠ De bic ✠ Vehegut ✠ Acham ✠.

"Alia nomina pone sub pectore et stabit ✠ sanguis Abex ✠ Parex ✠ Aberex ✠."

(Drawings with legends.)

"Si quis hanc epistolam super se portauerit scripta ac memoriam erit in ciuitate, in agro, in domo, in silua, in villa, in via, in mari, in ignis, in prelio [a]ut in quocunque loci ab omnibus inimicis & ab iniquo homine liberabitur, et ab alio malo fulgura et tonitrua securus erit credens et confidens, Amen. Quando audis tonitrua verte faciem tuam contra orientem et signa te ad quatuor plagas celi ✠ In nomine Patris ✠ et Filij ✠ et Spiritus Sancti ✠ Amen ✠. ✠ Carado ✠ Sancte Enoch ✠ Sancta Fida me benedicat ✠ In

¹ Sic; but obviously "Filii sui" is intended.

² Sic.

³ Originally "angelis", but corrected as in text (apparently).

nomine Patris ✠ et Filij ✠ et Spiritus Sancti ✠ Amen ✠ Lux
 flamma rex Emanuell te benedicat ✠ Amen ✠ In nomine Patris
 ✠ et Filij ✠ et Spiritus Sancti ✠ Amen ✠ *tribus vicibus ut supra.*

“Gloria tibi, Christe, fortis debellator unice, sed ille seuus hos-
 tis crucem Christi pertimeschat atque fugiat. Gabriell’ fortitudo
 Christi mentem sanctam spontaneam honorem Deo et patrie libe-
 rationem dedit. scuta Christi protege me a tonitruo terribilis¹
 quod coruschat flumine Amen.

“Angelus Domini Pantassaron qui sedes super tonitrua, de-
 fende nos a fulgure cum angelorum agmina.¹

“Domine sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus qui celum et
 terram fecisti et fluentia Jordane benedixisti in quo baptizatus
 fuisti benedicere sanctificare nubes istas malignas quas video duce
 me ut deficiant et effundant benedictam.”

(Here follows a rubric in French, of which only a few words
 are legible. In the text, as above given, I have endeavoured to
 exhibit the actual readings of the MS. It would be an endless and
 useless task to attempt to correct the blunders of the scribe.)

¹ *Sic.*

British Archaeological Association.

FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, YORK, 1892.

MONDAY, AUGUST 17TH, TO SATURDAY, THE 22ND AUGUST, WITH
AN ADDITIONAL DAY, MONDAY, THE 24TH AUGUST.

PATRONS.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.
RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF RIPON, D.D., D.C.L.
RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF WAKEFIELD, D.D.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD HERRIES.

PRESIDENT.

THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUESS OF RIPON,
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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, 17TH AUGUST 1891.

THE Congress commenced proceedings in the Guildhall, where the members were received by Sir Joseph Terry, Deputy Lord Mayor, in the absence, through indisposition, of the Lord Mayor.

Sir Joseph Terry expressed regret that the Lord Mayor was incapacitated by illness from being present, and on behalf of the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress, the Corporation and the citizens, he offered cordial welcome to the Association on its visit to the ancient city. He also read a letter from the Dean of York, regretting his unavoidable absence.

The Marquess of Ripon, President, acknowledged the welcome on behalf of the members, and proceeded to deliver the Inaugural Address, which has been printed above at pp. 1-6.

On the motion of Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, seconded by Mr. C. H. Compton, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Lord Mayor and Corporation, the Sheriff (Mr. C. A. Milward), and the Local Committee, for the reception accorded to the Association.

Sir Joseph Terry responded, and proposed that the thanks of the members be tendered to the President for his Address. This was seconded by the Sheriff, and agreed to.

Colonel Brooke, in the name of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association, offered hearty congratulations to the British Archæological Association on their visit to Yorkshire. The Yorkshire Association, he said, embraced in their researches the three Ridings, and might fairly claim that researches in connection with the history of those Ridings might be looked upon as in some sense preliminary to the work of the British Archæological Association. He added that the Association which he represented had induced the owners and custodians of some of the archæological treasures of the county to imitate the example of Lord Ripon, and to look with a more loving eye than they had formerly done upon that which had been entrusted to their care.

A vote of thanks was passed to Sir Joseph Terry for presiding.

The members then visited the King's Manor, just within the old city walls. Mr. A. Buckle received the visitors, and conducted them over the building. Mr. Buckle's paper, read later on, will be found at pp. 7-14. The party were much pleased with the visit.

Before leaving, the Marquess of Ripon expressed the indebtedness of the members of the Association to Mr. Buckle for having afforded them such an interesting half-hour.

The party then proceeded to the Minster. After the service Canon Raine described some of the main features connected with the structure. He said it might be convenient if he gave a preliminary sketch of the history of the church and the different fabrics represented in the present structure.

The history of York Minster practically began on Easter Day, 607. A little wooden chapel had been put up, and in this the King of Northumbria, who had been brought over to Christianity by Paulinus, was baptized. Afterwards the King built a stone church, keeping the little wooden chapel inside it as a sort of relic. The King of Northumbria being killed in battle a few years after, the church was finished by Oswald, one of his successors. That church was improved and enlarged in the same century by Wilfrid, the founder of Ripon; but in the middle of the eighth century the great changes that were taking place in York rendered a new church necessary. York had become a great University town. The school of York was something more than a school in our acceptance of the word; it meant a great University. York University was one of European fame, for from it the French Universities took their origin: indeed, in York they had practically the starting-point of the whole system of scholastic life throughout Europe. A new Cathedral was, therefore, built, and it continued till the Norman conquest, when William, in revenge for the defeat of some of his troops at York, destroyed the whole place, burning the Cathedral and town. Consequently one of the first duties that fell to the first Norman Archbishop, Thomas I, was to build a new Cathedral, and he constructed it in the Norman style, resembling Southwell very much. In the latter part of the next century Archbishop Roger, a Frenchman, who was a great builder, had an opportunity of showing his architectural skill in repairing the ravages of a fire in the choir. They did not want much excuse, in those days, for introducing a new style of architecture, for they were only too glad, very often, to pull down the most glorious fabric simply to bring in something new. Roger built a new choir, and no change was made after that till the middle of the thirteenth century, when the architectural spirit had revived, and they thought they had in justice some excuse for making a little further change. The northern tran-

sept was undertaken by the Chapter of the time, and the southern transept was begun almost contemporaneously by the Archbishop, Walter de Gray, who built the nave of Ripon Cathedral. The transepts must have been built between 1230 and 1250 ; at all events the south transept was complete when Walter de Grey's death took place, for his remains were laid there, and the visitors would presently see his beautiful, canopied monument. They had got now the old Norman nave, the Transitional choir of Archbishop Roger, and two beautiful Early English transepts. What were they to do next? They began to build a new nave, Archbishop le Romaine laying the foundation-stone on the south corner about 1292. Between then and 1340 the existing grand nave was built. The choir must have been beautiful, judging by the remains ; but it was resolved that it must come down. In 1363 Archbishop Thoresby began a new choir at his own expense, and he lived long enough to finish the four easternmost bays. On his death he was laid in front of the great east window, at his side being the remains of six other Archbishops, he having removed their bones from different parts of the church lest they should be disturbed by the restoration which was going to take place. Thoresby died in 1373, and the chapter did not complete the choir to the central tower till about 1405. It was a time when money was very scarce, and there was also great difficulty in keeping masons, as when any royal personage or statesman wanted any work done he had a sort of press-gang system in operation upon the workmen. The real difficulties of the Chapter commenced when the Norman tower was reached. They did not dare to pull it down because that would have brought down the choir, nave, and transepts ; but they must, he thought, have made some attempt at that, for in one or two places there were signs of shrinkage in the neighbouring arches, and they must have taken warning from what they saw, and desisted from the attempt. But they recast the Norman pillars with Perpendicular architecture,—a very dangerous and critical operation. He regarded the choir-screen—which on the face of it seemed so light and elegant, but in reality was many yards thick—as being actually a great buttress to the tower. It was found necessary to put it there in order to make everything quite safe. With that work completed, they had the interior of the fabric as it stood now. In the latter part of the fifteenth century the two western towers were put up, and the pinnacles and flying buttresses. Then there was the Chapter House, and that was a great difficulty in the architectural history of York Minster. They had no documentary evidences as to the building of it, and could only form an idea of its date from the architectural details. It was Early Decorated work, and must date from 1280 downwards for twenty or thirty years. That the work must have been done very leisurely was proved by its ela-

boration. In viewing the Minster, the thought arose, How did they get all that work done? The fact was that they only had a limited fabric fund of their own; but they could rely without any hesitation upon the unlimited generosity particularly of all the people of Yorkshire. Any one who read the wills of the Yorkshire men of the time when the work was going on would see how bequest after bequest was left for its continuance, the sums ranging from 6*d.* to many pounds; and they must be multiplied by a considerable amount to bring them up to our present money value. It must be remembered also that the Chapter had "brief-bearers" going about the country begging money in every direction. Again, there were the offerings made at the shrine of St. William, the patron Saint, and the moneys placed in the almsbags, which went, for the most part, to the great work of restoration. The love which Yorkshire men had for the Minster was a matter of common knowledge, and he did not hesitate to say that any wilful harm done to the edifice would make something like an insurrection in the county. In further remarks the Rev. Canon referred to the fires which occurred in the Minster in 1829 and 1840, and passed on to point out how wonderfully the stained glass in the building had been preserved. He said they owed that largely to Lord Fairfax. He believed it was true that at the siege of York he put a guard round the Minster, and they had orders to blow out the brains of any one who hurt the fabric. No one was allowed to fire a ball at it; and he (Canon Raine) believed the Minster on that occasion saved York from terrible fire and destruction, because the soldiers could not well fire at the town without hitting some part of the sacred edifice. It was an astonishing thing that every window had two-thirds or more of old glass in it.

The visitors were then conducted round the interior of the Minster, an inspection being made of the windows, tombs, tablets, as well as of the details of the various styles of architecture represented. The choir, with its ornate oak-carving, having been viewed, the party visited the Lady Chapel, where the east window evoked admiration. The crypt, with its remnants of Saxon masonry, was also an object of attention. The Chapter House was subsequently visited.

In the evening a *conversazione* was held, by invitation of the Lord Mayor and the Local Committee, in the Fine Art and Industrial Institution, to which, in addition to the members attending the Congress, a large number of ladies and gentlemen of the city and the neighbourhood were invited. The central hall of the Institution had been handsomely furnished as a drawing-room, and decorated with plants, shields, and banners. There were also on its walls many pictures, busts, natural history specimens, and other objects of interest which form a part of the permanent exhibition. There were also a number

of the ancient records and charters of the Corporation, and the state swords and mace. These relics were inspected with interest, as were also similar records and plate belonging to the Merchant Adventurers' Company and the Merchant Taylors' Company, the latter being lent by the Hon. Sec. of the Company, Mr. Joseph Wilkinson. Mr. A. Buckle had lent valuable books. The guests had the privilege, which was evidently much appreciated, of viewing the magnificent collection of pictures in the Burton Gallery.

The guests were received by Alderman Sir Joseph Terry and Lady Terry, the City Sheriff and Mrs. Millward, Mr. Alderman Rooke, Dr. Tempest Anderson, Mr. Councillor Clayton, Mr. A. Buckle, and Mr. H. M. Platnauer. Shortly after the arrival of the Marquess of Ripon Mr. Buckle, Superintendent of the Yorkshire School for the Blind, read a paper on "A Century in the King's Manor House", which has been printed at pp. 7-14.

Mr. J. S. Rowntree subsequently read a paper on the Guildhall of York, in substitution of a paper on a similar subject which Mr. McGuire, the Town Clerk, had prepared, but which he was by illness prevented from reading. This paper will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

The Marquess of Ripon proposed thanks for these interesting papers.

TUESDAY, 18TH AUGUST 1891.

The members of the Association devoted this day to the antiquities of York. At All Saints', North Street, Mr. Brock said that in places where Saxon influence had largely prevailed, as it had done here, they always found considerable groups of churches; but the same thing did not characterise the Norman period. During the Middle Ages there seemed to have been a great struggle for existence amongst those churches, as they found one after another disappeared. The sites of some which existed prior to the time of Henry VIII were known, and their names were also known, but many more were lost in the dimness of antiquity. With regard to York, they found that the enormous number of churches which had existed in the Middle Ages had dwindled down to thirty-two in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. In the reign of Edward VI an Act of Parliament was passed dealing specially with York. It stated that owing to the decay of the city and the poverty of merchants there were many churches in the district yielding an income of less than 27s. 6d. *per annum*; that many were served by monks who had been relieved from duty in their monasteries, and of whom the Act did not render any very good account; and it was, therefore, ordered that churches yielding less than the amount already stated be united to other parishes. Under the provisions of that Act only some five or six churches were so united; but

about a hundred years after, when the general insurrection and siege of York took place, several more churches were destroyed, and never rebuilt.

Turning to the Church of All Saints, Mr. Brock said it had a character of its own, on account of the peculiar little fifteenth century tower and spire at the west end. In the time to which these belong, spires were not common, though octagonal towers were frequently built in the county, and there were in existence now two or three very beautiful examples. But a prettily contrived spire like that of All Saints', starting from a lofty octagonal tower on a small square base, was a composition not frequently seen, and he commended it very much to their architectural friends as giving a very picturesque appearance at a very moderate cost. In that little church, as they would see, the stained glass was exceedingly remarkable and good. The colours were beautiful, the design was interesting, and it was a matter of very great gratification to find so much remained in fairly good condition. Here he would say that any student of old glass must be aware that its destruction was not owing so much to the violence of Oliver Cromwell and others whose names were so perpetually repeated as to the actual decay of the leadwork. Any one who had the custody of an old church would do great service to the building if he would have the leadwork looked after in good time. Mr. Brock proceeded to point out various details of interest in the little Early English nave, and remarked on the absence of any chancel-arch.

Leaving the Church of All Saints, North Street, the party were conducted to St. Martin-cum-Gregory Church, on Micklegate Hill, an edifice affording examples of Early English work. Mr. Brock, directing attention to the chancel, said that was of much later date than the nave; and it would be noticed how very much wider the arches were in proportion to the supports,—a feature which would be found in many other York churches. The church had grown from a small one to a large one, the chancel having been added and the building enlarged in the fifteenth century. St. Martin-cum-Gregory Church afforded an instance of what was an almost invariable rule, viz., that in the extension of ancient churches the line between nave and chancel was maintained as it had existed from the earliest times. He would particularly ask their attention to the stained glass in the windows. That on the south side had almost disappeared; but the window at the east end was a beautiful specimen of fourteenth century work.

The visitors proceeded to Priory Street in order to obtain an exterior view of the north-west tower of the Church of Holy Trinity, Micklegate. This building, Mr. Brock explained, was a conventual church at one time, and must have been one of the largest in York then, as it was now one of the most picturesque fabrics in the city.

The Church of St. Mary, Bishophill Junior, was next visited. Pointing out the masonry of the Saxon tower, Mr. Brock said this was one of the earliest and one of the most remarkable churches in the country. The variation in the masonry of the tower was very suggestive. The lower part was built of stone of all sorts and descriptions, whilst sandstone had been used for the building of the upper part, which was of somewhat different character. In the lower portion they noticed some of the stones arranged herring-bonewise, as they were in the little fragment of Paulinus' church in the crypt of York Minster. They would find that the Roman wall of York was faced with small stones of the same kind, but laid flat in shape; and from these circumstances he drew the inference that the stones used in the lower part of the tower of St. Mary, Bishophill Junior, were removed for the purpose from some Roman building; but the supply becoming exhausted before the completion of the tower, the builders were forced to quarry elsewhere; hence the dissimilarity in the character of the masonry. Later, Mr. Brock stated that having now had an opportunity of examining the masonry of the exterior of the fabric, he found that it bore the usual evidences of Roman tooling.

The party then moved to Micklegate Bar, whose fine front was much eulogised; thence the company proceeded, by way of the City Walls, to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Grounds. Canon Raine conducted the visitors over the Hospitium, the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, the Museum, the remains of St. Leonard's Priory, and the Roman multangular tower at the angle of the city wall. The rich treasures of antiquity to be found within the Philosophical Society's storehouses were viewed with interest, whilst the ruins, which are such a picturesque feature of the grounds, excited admiration.

St. Michael's, Spurriergate, which was formerly in the custody of Canon Raine, was then inspected, and Mr. Brock called attention to the middle window on the south side, where there were the remains of a Jesse window. The semi-Norman columns of the nave are of great lightness and beauty, and resemble the pillars of the Gallilee of Durham Cathedral, suggesting the work of the same masons.

The party next passed on to St. Mary's, Castlegate, where attention was directed to the spire, which curved inwards instead of outwards, as is usual. Mr. Brock observed that within the church were evidences of all gradations of church architecture from the period of the Norman conquest. A church existed on the site before the conquest, as attested by *Domesday Book*. He traced the extension of the structure, which originally consisted of a nave of ordinary dimensions, and noticed the chantry chapel, in which traces of the altar are still discernible.

Crossing the road, the party entered the Castle, and under the guidance of Governor Taylor viewed Clifford's Tower and the dungeon in

which Dick Turpin is said to have been confined. Before quitting the Castle a vote of thanks was given to the Governor for his courtesy.

Leaving the Castle, the party wended their way to the Pavement, calling *en passant* at All Saints' Church with its lantern-tower, and after taking a look at the old houses in the Pavement they came to the Merchants' Hall, Fossgate, where Mr. Joseph Wilkinson, Secretary of the Company, conducted them over the old building, and sketched its historical associations in a short paper which we hope to print hereafter.

On the proposition of Mr. Wyon a vote of thanks was rendered to Mr. Wilkinson.

St. Martin's, Coney Street, was the last church visited, and the afternoon's tour terminated at Mr. James Backhouse's private Museum of valuable Mexican and Peruvian antiquities and local fossils.

At the evening meeting in the new Council Chamber, Guildhall, Canon Raine presided, and Dr. Phené read a paper on Constantine, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. C. Lynam read a paper on "Earthworks of Early Date", which will also be printed hereafter.

The Chairman, in response to a vote of thanks, said that Dr. Phené had not drawn the character of Constantine quite to his mind. He had spoken of him as a man of peace. He was a man of peace when he had removed all his adversaries out of the way. He destroyed his partner in the Empire, and killed his wife and one of his sons, which rather militated against his pacific character. He was, however, a man of wonderful constructive genius, very much like our own Henry I. With regard to Mr. Lynam's paper, he would respectfully suggest that he had underdated the age of those camps. It appeared to him that they dated back hundreds of years before there was a Roman in this country. The hill-sides in our own county were scored with those mounds, especially on the Wolds. He attributed them to the division of the country into small tribes, which were obliged to be continually on their defence. Those mounds were to some extent fortifications, and also places into which the cattle belonging to the tribe could be driven for security. He did not think they had regular stone walls. As Mr. Lynam said, the rubble was in the main what was gathered from the diggings inside. They erected palisades where they could make them. He could not agree that those mounds were ever reared by Saxons or Romans, or used by them. They could not find anything Roman or Saxon in them, except it was something dropped by a wayfarer. If they found anything it was flint implements used by a very ancient people indeed. It was not his intention to unfavourably criticise the papers, in which he had been extremely interested.

The proceedings then terminated.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH AUGUST 1891.

This day the Congress visited Knaresborough Castle and Church, where they were met in the porch by Mr. Basil T. Woodd, J.P.

Then the party proceeded to Boroughbridge, and were met by Mr. A. S. Lawson, J.P., and Mr. Alex. D. H. Leadman, F.S.A., and at once placed themselves under the guidance of Mr. Leadman, who possesses an unrivalled acquaintance with the antiquities which abound in Boroughbridge and Aldborough.

Mr. Leadman said that Boroughbridge could not boast of any ruined feudal castle, nor of monastic remains; but he invited them to follow him over a tract of interesting country. After enumerating the remains which they would examine, he pointed to the bridge across the Ure, and reminded the party that at that spot a battle between Thomas Earl of Lancaster and the rebellious barons, against Edward II, was fought 16th March 1322. Sir Humphrey de Bohun tried to force the passage of the bridge, but was speared from underneath the bridge, and the rebels fell back, and after a sanguinary conflict were routed. The Earl of Lancaster took refuge in the old church; but its sanctuary did not avail him. He was dragged from the building, stripped of his armour, and taken to Pontefract, where he was beheaded.

Mr. Leadman then conducted the party to the Devil's Arrows, and described their peculiarities. It was recorded that in 1694 there were seven of these strange relics, but the number was now reduced to three. Where did the stones come from? No doubt the stones belonged to the time of the earliest inhabitants of the island. They were certainly not Roman nor Druidical, and they were certainly not memorials of the dead. The legend was that the Devil was offended with Aldborough, and resolved to sweep the place off the face of the earth. Taking his stand on How Hill, near Fountains Abbey, and planting one foot on the front, and the other on the back, he thundered forth, "Boro Brigg keep out o't road, for Aldbro' town I will ding down", and forthwith launched his arrows. Mr. Leadman's theory is that they formed the remains of a temple erected to the worship of the sun.

The most interesting portion of the day's programme was the Isurium of the Romans. On reaching a point opposite the Manor House at Aldborough the party halted, while their guide reminded them that they were standing upon the remains of the Roman Wall that enclosed Isurium.

Moving on a few steps further, the party looked up at the cross, in the Decorated style, which formerly stood in the Market-Place at

Borough Bridge for over five hundred years, and was erected to commemorate the battle to which we have already alluded.

The Roman tessellated pavement was unearthed in 1732, and the party were reminded at this stage that of the nine Roman pavements which have been discovered in Aldborough, six were *in situ*.

A visit was next paid to the church. The figure, said to be of Mercury, let into the outside vestry-wall is supposed to come from a Roman temple. On a gravestone in the churchyard there is a sculptured relief of a female in the attitude of prayer.

The Museum, full of Roman antiquities, was also a source of admiration; and before quitting Aldborough a cordial vote of thanks was given to Mr. Lawson.

On the return to Boroughbridge several of the visitors went with Mr. Leadman to look at the quaint sculptures that adorned the old church at Boroughbridge, and now find a lodgment in the vestry of the new church. After tea the party returned to York.

Canon Raine presided in the evening. A series of drawings and sketches of portions of old York, Fountains Abbey, and Rosslyn Chapel, executed many years ago by Mr. E. Moore of York, were exhibited in the Council Chamber, Mr. Moore having kindly lent them for the occasion. They included St. Mary's Abbey, the Old Castle Mills and surroundings, river-scenes on the Ouse and Foss, the Guildhall (river-front), Stonegate (1840), portion of York Minster, east window of Fountains Abbey, and the tower, etc.

Mr. J. S. Rowntree contributed a paper entitled "Memories of an Ancient House in the Pavement, York", the building having been inspected on Tuesday.

Mr. McGuire, Town Clerk, being prevented by illness from attending, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on the "Civic Insignia of York."

A paper was then read by Mr. J. H. Macmichael on "The Horn of Ulphus" in York Minster.

It is hoped that these papers will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

THURSDAY, 20TH AUGUST 1891.

By invitation of the President, the members visited Fountains Abbey, where they were very hospitably entertained, and had an opportunity of viewing this famous ruin.

Prior to proceeding to Studley Royal, the party made an inspection of Ripon Cathedral. On arriving at Ripon the visitors were received in the Chapter House by the Very Rev. the Dean, Dr. Fremantle. The Communion-plate was displayed on a table, and the horns of the "wake-man". Up to the time of James I, when a new charter was granted to

the city, a noteworthy civic dignitary was known as the "wakeman", and it was ordained in 1598 that the horn should be blown at 9 o'clock nightly at the four corners of the Cross, in conformity with ancient custom. This blast announced the setting of the watch; but though the discontinuance of the internecine warfare, and the pillaging which harassed the North Country in those olden days, has long made the sounding of the horn a mere form, it is still carried on with great punctuality, an official horn-blower giving three blasts at the Mayor's door and one at the Market-Cross at the hour named. The original horn, which is worn by the Sergeant-at-Mace in civic processions, is attached to an ample velvet belt which hangs over the shoulder of the bearer, and is studded with a vast number of silver badges with the names and arms of previous "wakemen" and Mayors engraven upon them, together with the insignia of the trading companies of the town. The most ancient of these badges bears date 1521, when the office of "wakeman" was served by one Thomas Mankyn.

Another horn belonging to the Corporation was presented by the Dean of Ripon on the occasion of the millenary celebration, in signification, as he put it, of the connection between Church and State, the authority and civil rights of the city having been originally conferred through the Archbishop of York.

Dr. Fremantle observed that the Cathedral had certain points of interest historically which were deserving of attention, seeing that it was probably one of the very first buildings erected of stone by Wilfrid, and was the first to obtain a charter, as he believed, from King Alfred, Ripon thereby becoming one of the first cities of England. The crypt in the Cathedral was an object of peculiar interest, and other points in the history of the edifice were deserving of notice. There could be no doubt that at the time when the persecution fell upon the monks at Lindisfarne, they brought the body of Cuthbert and the head of Oswald to Ripon. They were on their way to Chester-le-Street, but seemed to have paused in the neighbourhood of Ripon for a time. He was not sure whether they came actually to Ripon Minster or to a little church that originally stood at Winksley. From his own researches he was rather of opinion that they might have gone to Winksley, and settled on the moors there for a time in order to avoid persecution, and they passed thence to Durham, where Cuthbert's body and Oswald's head now lie buried. Ripon had the same privileges in early days as were enjoyed by Beverley. They had the refuge-crosses, and could now identify the sites of them.

Before the party left the Chapter House, the Dean presented to Mr. Birch, *Hon. Sec.*, one of the medals struck at the Royal Mint on the occasion of the millenary festival at Ripon. It is now in the care of the Hon. Treasurer.

The company then moved into the nave, where the Precentor, Rev. S. Reid, pointed out a few of the historical features of the Cathedral, observing that it was one of the great ecclesiastical centres of England, and one of the oldest, dating from about the year 670. Part of the church now standing was erected in the twelfth century through the instrumentality of Archbishop Roger. The Northern Primates resided in the vicinity at that period (which was anterior to the building of Bishopthorpe Palace), and took great interest in the Cathedral. The edifice was restored in 1459, when it had fallen into a ruinous state. Mr. Reid pointed out the beautiful Transitional work which had distinguished the architecture, and said he believed the church of Nun Monkton presented the only other example extant of the kind of decoration there adopted. The Cathedral had several times undergone enlargement and restoration, being last restored, twenty years ago, by Sir Gilbert Scott at a cost of £40,000. Originally it was a collegiate church served by a body of Augustinian canons; but this body was dissolved in the sixteenth century. In 1836 it was made a Cathedral, and Dr. Boyd Carpenter was the third Bishop.

Mr. C. Lynam, Local Member of Council for Staffordshire, described the architectural features of the building, after which the party were conducted on a tour of inspection. In the Library a number of very old books and manuscripts excited the interest of the visitors, a costly MSS. liturgy of Wilfrid, presented to the Dean and Chapter by the Marquess of Ripon, being specially pointed out. The crypt, which is one of the most interesting portions of the fabric, being about the only remnant of the original church, was visited by a number of the party. The approach to it is by means of a dark narrow stone stair, opening out of the nave, and leading directly under the lantern-tower. Penetrating further along a passage at the foot of the steps the investigator who is bold enough to venture forward comes to a little cavernous apartment, some 10 ft. by 7, and, despite the forbidding aspect of the place, the archæologist is well repaid for the inconvenience of the descent. In all the church architecture of the country there only survives one crypt presenting any correspondence to this, and that one is at Hexham. They were both built by Wilfrid, who was Bishop of Hexham and Abbot of Ripon, and who imbibed in Rome the spirit which characterised his architecture.

Arriving at Studley Royal the Marquess of Ripon bade them a hearty welcome, and the company sat down to an elegant luncheon, laid in that portion of the ruins which is said to have formed the lay brothers' room. The party who had set out for York were joined at lunch by the Marchioness as well as the Marquess of Ripon, and by a number of neighbouring friends, the guests numbering nearly a hundred in all.

Lord Ripon tendered a very hearty welcome to his visitors, assuring them of the pleasure it afforded him to see them there on that occasion. It was a singular coincidence that the day chosen for the visit was, in one respect at all events, probably the most appropriate that could have been hit upon in the whole year, because it was the feast of St. Bernard, the great Cistercian, to whose advice in a considerable degree the foundation of that monastery was due. Feeling as he did a natural pride in being connected with buildings so full of beauty and of interest as those in which they were assembled, it was to him a source of great pleasure that they should from time to time be freely thrown open to the examination of persons of scientific acquirements. New light was thrown upon their history and upon their objects, and notwithstanding all the investigations which had been carried on during the last half century they had even now, he doubted not, something to learn in addition to that which had been taught them by those who had preceded the British Archæological Association within those walls.

Mr. Wyon, F.S.A., *Hon. Treas.*, on behalf of the company, thanked the Marquess and Marchioness of Ripon for the very kind and hospitable reception they had given them. Speaking of the Abbey, Mr. Wyon referred to the immense size of the buildings, the beauty of the architecture, and the sweetness of the surroundings, adding that he, for one, must refuse to join with people who in any way sneered at the selfishness or coldness of those who founded such abbeys as that. He felt that those men who drew together there and erected that magnificent pile of buildings, so large and rich in all their detail, did it not for their own glory, but for the glory of their great Master whom they chose to serve. The acknowledgments of all archæologists were due to the noble owner of the Abbey for the admirable preservation in which the ruin was kept. He asked them to pledge the health of the Marquess of Ripon.

The toast was enthusiastically honoured, and his lordship having briefly replied, the company adjourned to the open air.

Mr. Brock then gave a brief sketch of the circumstances under which the abbey was built by a party of Benedictine monks from St. Mary's Abbey, York, who sought a more stringent and ascetic rule of life than that prescribed in the establishment which they left. After enduring great privations this knot of monks won the sympathy and aid of the Archbishop of York, and a stone church was well in progress in the year 1136. A fire occurred shortly after, and it was recorded that the whole fabric was destroyed. As the result of a careful survey, Mr. Gordon Hills, who had written perhaps the best monograph of the building in existence, was only able to point out a wall forming a great part of the east wall of the lay brothers' room, and one other little bit of masonry, as being part of the original

church. It was difficult to understand how a building constructed for the most part of stone could be burnt to the ground. He (Mr. Brock) had therefore devoted himself to an inspection of the remains, and he was flattering himself that he had found reason for believing that a good deal of the lower part of the fabric of the church, at any rate, was of the early date assigned to the foundation. The mouldings of the arches of the lower part of west front were of the plain character which belonged to the period known as Early Norman. The pointed arches, the columns, and the clerestory he took to be part of the rebuilding. He would point out a fact which might surprise some of those present, viz., that the second builders of the church decorated it with the much-abused whitewash. There was evidence that the number of monks for whom provision was made in the rebuilding was 34 or 35. This figure, Mr. Brock explained in answer to an inquiry, had reference to the ritual monks only. As to the conversi, he did not much believe in them.

Making their way eastward through the ruin of the church the attention of the company was called to the superb proportions of the tower erected in 1494, after the demolition of the one which was originally reared over the centre of the building. The guide observed in passing that they would be struck with the fact that as portions of the buildings decreased in antiquity they increased in artistic beauty, which was explained by the gradual change of sentiment in regard to architecture which came over the Cistercians as their order became more wealthy. It was at Fountains that the architect had elaborated the idea of a magnificent addition to the east end in the shape of nine altars, and it was the introduction of these that prompted a similar innovation at Durham, and not *vice versa*, as was often supposed. The nine altars at Fountains were one of the most masterly pieces of the Early English style of architecture that could be found in Yorkshire—delicate and charming were the details, and most artistic the effect produced. Referring to the old pavements which lie at the east end of the church, he declared himself sceptical with regard to the generally accepted view that they now occupied their original positions.

On visiting the Chapter House Mr. Brock drew attention to certain distinguishing masons' marks, which he had detected on the face of the blocks of stone used in the building, and from which he inferred that at the time of the erection of this portion of the Abbey the monks were able to employ very skilled workmen.

Having inspected the remains of what it is agreed formed the domestic offices and infirmary, the visitors climbed the rising ground beyond the rivulet which flows by the Abbey, and obtained a magnificent view of the river from this favourable elevation. Shortly

afterwards they took leave of the President and drove back to Ripon, whence they returned by special train to York.

Canon Raine presided at the evening meeting. Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on Rievaulx Abbey, which has been printed at pp. 15-25.

The Chairman, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Compton, said the Abbey of Rievaulx was justly called one of the glories of Yorkshire. They had seen one of the glories that day. One practical thought arose to his mind, and he would take the liberty of making a suggestion to them in the hope that something might be done. That day they had seen a Cistercian house tenderly cared for. As the earth was removed they saw the ground-plan. They were going to Rievaulx, where they would see exactly the reverse—the earth mounting up against the walls and the walls crumbling to decay. He hoped they would have the opportunity, either collectively or individually, of suggesting to Lord Faversham, or if he was not there, of taking means of putting before him the desirability of some effort being made to clear the ruins of the earth with which they were encumbered, and to put the walls in a proper state of preservation.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on “Some of the Ancient Gods of Great Britain”, which will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

The Chairman observed that Mr. Birch, in his important paper, had mentioned a number of deities with very uncouth names. The inference, he thought, was that those were scarcely to be called British deities at all. Let them consider by whom the inscriptions were wrought. The Roman legions were accompanied by cohorts recruited entirely from distant countries. Those people naturally had their home deities, and these they produced in England. There was one point which Mr. Birch had not noted. In the north particularly, in a great number of the inscriptions were the words, *deus vetus* or *veteris*, the ancient god. These inscriptions were very brief—no more than eight or ten words—and the person to whom they were dedicated never had more than one name, and that of an uncouth character. Who was that *deus vetus* or *veteris*? Some might think he was Jupiter or Saturn, but he should think it had reference to the principle of divinity rather than to any member of the pantheon at the time. He proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Birch.

A paper by Mr. A. Oliver, on “The Ancient Brass Monuments of the Archbishops of York,” was deferred, and the sitting closed.

FRIDAY, 21ST AUGUST 1891.

This day the members visited Rievaulx Abbey, another Cistercian ruin, and were thus able to compare two buildings, Fountains and Rievaulx, having much in common and yet differing widely in some important respects. A large party set out, and Helmsley was reached about noon. Carriages were in waiting to convey the visitors to the Abbey, which is about three miles distant. Turning off the direct road to the Abbey the party paid a short visit to Earl Faversham's famous terrace, and the glorious view of hill and dale to be obtained from this commanding eminence was greatly enjoyed. The company were enabled to glance at the Ionic temple at the northern end of the terrace, with its ceiling enriched with frescoes illustrative of subjects from heathen mythology. Making the descent of the hill, Rievaulx Abbey, nestling in the dell beneath, was soon reached, and here the visitors were met by the Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., by whom they were conducted over the ruin. It is hoped that his remarks will take the form of a paper hereafter in the *Journal*.

On the return journey the ruins of Helmsley Castle and the over-restored church were inspected. In the latter building are a few loose fragments of Saxon interlaced stonework.

The Rev. Canon Raine took the chair at the evening meeting.

Mr. J. P. Pritchett read a paper on "The Percies in Yorkshire", which we hope to print hereafter.

To recapitulate the historical events in which the Percies were concerned would be interminable, Mr. Pritchett observed, and he was compelled to omit a very large portion of his paper owing to the limited time at his disposal.

Major G. Lambert, F.S.A., gave some account of the houses, and their locality, which the members of the Percy family had occupied in London.

The Chairman stated that Mr. Pritchett's paper was important, and added much to the information they had previously possessed of the Percy family. The people of Yorkshire owed much gratitude to the older Percies. Their name was a household word in the county, and there was no one who was acquainted with the Minster was not aware of those two noble statues of the Percies which stood on either side of the west door.

Dr. Eastwood read a paper on "York as an Early British and English Centre of Life and Learning", which has been printed above at pp. 30-37.

Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., *Hon. Treas.*, gave a *résumé* of the work of the Association during its visit to York, and said they had received many

and great advantages from that visit. They had had an exceedingly pleasant time on account of the great kindness received on all hands. He was sure all the members of that Congress felt deeply indebted to all those who had so kindly assisted to make their visit to the city both profitable and pleasant. He therefore proposed, "That the best thanks of this Congress be presented to the Most Hon. the Marquess of Ripon, K.G., to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and Corporation of this city, to the Very Rev. the Dean of York, the Chapter of York Minster, to the Local Committee, and to the clergy of the various churches visited by the members of this Congress, for the kind reception and valuable service which they have rendered to the British Archæological Association throughout their very pleasant visit to the City of York during the present week."

Dr. Bensley, of Norwich, seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

Major Lambert proposed a vote of sympathy with the Lord Mayor and the Town Clerk in their illnesses, and trusted that both gentlemen would be speedily restored to health and strength.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. W. H. Cope, V.P., F.S.A., proposed a vote of thanks to Canon Raine for presiding over the meetings, and for the urbanity he had displayed, and the valuable information he had afforded on subjects that had come before the Congress.

Mr. Wyon seconded, and the vote was carried with acclamation.

Canon Raine, in replying, said that the citizens of York would have pleasant recollections of the visit of the Association, and he hoped the Association would not forget to renew its visit to this city, where it would be extremely welcome.

The meeting then terminated.

SATURDAY, 22ND AUGUST 1891.

This day the members paid a visit to the Benedictine Abbey of Selby, the choir of which is now undergoing restoration. On arrival the vicar of Selby conducted them into the church. Mr. J. P. Pritchett, of Darlington, at once proceeded to describe the varied architectural beauties of the Abbey. His paper on the Abbey Church will be printed hereafter. The Rev. A. G. Tweedie then conducted the party through the choir, which is of the Decorated period.

The visitors then proceeded to Howden.

Rev. Wm. Hutchinson, vicar of Howden, read an interesting paper, which we hope to print hereafter.

During the afternoon the party returned to Selby, where they stayed for luncheon, returning to York about four o'clock.

The Congress concluded its sittings in the Guildhall on Saturday evening, when Canon Raine again presided.

Mr. Brock at the outset drew attention to the curious pieces of rifle-ordnance which were lying between the Mansion House and the Guildhall. There were three or four most interesting examples of very ancient ordnance of the time of Henry V or VII, one piece being the precursor of the breechloader of to-day. They would observe a large aperture in which the charge of powder was put, and would notice how ingeniously the top of the cannon was prepared in order that the ball, whether of stone or of iron, might be dropped down from the top. The piece was formed of rolls of iron welded together very much in the manner of armour-plate of the present time. The city ought to take care of the pieces.

A paper on "The Brasses of the Archbishops of York", by Mr. A. Oliver, was read, to be printed hereafter.

On Monday, the 24th, a visit was paid to Scarborough, where the party was received by the officials of the Scarborough Philosophical Society in the Museum. After luncheon they proceeded, under the guidance of Mr. John H. Phillipps, to the ancient Castle, where some recently discovered foundations, which have been excavated within the Castle walls, were inspected. These were found to be of moderate antiquity, since Norman fragments had been used as old material.

The site of the Castle Chapel, shown in the copy of an ancient map of the town in the Museum, was pointed out. Its site would repay the labour of excavation, since the foundations come quite up to the surface. There is a spring of water close to the west front.

A visit was then paid to the ancient parish church of St. Mary, where the party was received by the Bishop of Hull, who courteously traced the history of the fabric. He was followed by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, who pointed out some of the many curious architectural features.

The proceedings were concluded by a reception given by the Scarborough Society to the party at the Museum, where the members separated after many expressions of hearty good will; and thus terminated one of the most agreeable and instructive Congresses ever held by the Association.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH JAN. 1892.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following members were elected :

Rev. W. Slater Sykes, M.A., 27 Harlock Street, Sheffield
J. Shewell Corder, Esq., Wimborne House, Ipswich.

John H. Phillipps, Esq., was elected Local Member of Council for Yorkshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents :

To Percy G. Stone, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., for "Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight." Part III.

To the Society, for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire," vol. xxv, Part III. Nov. 1891.

„ „ for "Report of the Statutory Ninth Congress of Orientalists held in London, 1 to 10 Sept. 1891."

„ „ for "Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de Morinie." Fortieth year. Pts. 157, 158.

To the Author, for "Enquiry into the Ethnology of Afghanistan." By H. W. Bellew, Esq., C.S.I.

„ „ for "Les Chartes de Ste. Bertin." Par M. L'Abbé Daniel Haiguerré," tom. ii. St. Omer. 4to.

Mr. B. Winstone, M.D., exhibited a milk-white glass medallion-portrait of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart., and gave some particulars of the biography of that illustrious personage.

Mr. Winstone also exhibited one of the office-books of the Commissioners of the River Stort, running between Essex and Hertfordshire, containing minutes of their proceedings from 1728 to 1760.

The Chairman exhibited some rubbings of brasses which are preserved in the church of Ringwould, near Walmer, Kent. The finest of these commemorates John Upton, in civilian costume, A.D. 1530,

Mr. J. M. Wood exhibited some mortar from the Roman Wall at Colchester, showing the fine, hard, cement-like character which Roman mortars possess.

Mr. Wood also exhibited a cross-section of leaden piping, 6 ins. in diameter, as a specimen of the pipes laid down by Sir Hugh Middleton in his original works for the New River, 1616-30. Recent alterations by the New River Company, in the neighbourhood of Sadler's Wells, have revealed a considerable length of this pipe, which is formed of metal about half an inch thick, and of very fine quality; not drawn or cast, but apparently formed of plates of metal hammered into shape on a swage or mandril, and united by some method not as yet clearly understood; which is, at any rate, not soldering. This interesting specimen of the plumbing art deserves to be further investigated.

Mr. H. Watling, of Ipswich, communicated tracings of curious inscriptions found upon the pillars of the Church of St. Clement, Ipswich. They consist of Roman and Arabic numerals, initial letters, and rude drawings of ships. The date of 1606 occurs among them, and they all appear to be about this age.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a collection of mediæval antiquities recently recovered from the neighbourhood of the Borough. They consisted of fragments of Samian pottery and bronze figurine, some coins and tokens, a large string of fine blue spherical beads of the Roman style, a horn staff-handle carved with a cockle-shell, and an Upchurch vase.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on "Archæology in Derbyshire", by Mr. Andreas E. Cokayne, F.S.A. (which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*), chiefly dealing with prehistoric caves and earliest evidences of mankind in the district.

The Chairman read a note on the date of the foundation of Furness Abbey, by way of appendix to his paper on Rievaulx Abbey, read during the recent Congress at York.

The Chairman also read the following:—

FIND OF ROMAN REMAINS AT CAERLEON.

BY A. C. FRYER, ESQ.

While digging the foundations for a residence which Mr. Thomas Parry has been building on the Common, Caerleon, a number of remains of the Roman occupation have been recently uncovered. These included a large number of tiles. The greater proportion are roof-tiles, and are marked LEG II AVG. Several of the large tiles have the well-known marks of sandals upon them, and the four feet of a fox can be traced upon one. These impressions must have been made before the tiles were baked. A number of fragments of Roman pot-

tery have also been discovered, consisting of coarse Samian ware and other dark and red pottery. These fragments appear to have been amphoræ, ampullæ, and mortaria. There is one small piece of glass. It is evidently part of the rim of a bottle or jar. As far as one can judge, it appears to have been a sepulchral vessel, and resembles those unearthed some years ago, and now deposited in the Caerleon Museum. One fragment of coarse pottery has the potter's mark, BRN, upon it. Fifteen coins have been found. A few are Roman, and much corroded; the others are of a comparatively recent date. A small bronze bracelet, the possession of some Roman matron, has also been discovered.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH JAN. 1892.

This being the day appointed by Her Majesty the Queen for the funeral of H.R.H. the late Duke of Clarence and Avondale, K.G., the officers of the Association decided to put off the Council and evening meetings.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD FEB. 1892.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Honorary Correspondents were elected :

Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, Penton Mewsey Rectory, Hants.

Ernest R. Dawe, Esq., Hatfield Hall, Durham.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following works :

To the Smithsonian Institute, for "Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1889."

To Edw. Peacock, Esq., F.S.A., for "Louth Old Corporation Records," compiled by R. W. Goulding. 1891.

Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Peterborough, sent a series of drawings of ancient tiles, and a sketch of old binding, for exhibition, with the following note :—

"I have pleasure in sending thirteen tracings of floor-tiles existing in so much of the floor of the entrance to the old Lady Chapel of Peterborough Cathedral as yet remains in the east aisle of the north transept where it was entered. The curious designs are incised, and no reference at present exists relative to them. Two come from the actual site of the chapel, which was taken down in 1652 by the citizens, who having obtained a grant of the Cathedral to be their parish

church, sold most of the materials of this Lady Chapel to repair the Cathedral with the funds so raised. The last tile is curious from the heraldic bearings it preserves,—1st and 4th, a large, heavy bird, a duck or goose; 2nd and 3rd, a double-headed eagle. Some of our members may throw light on it, and say if it can have anything to do with a marriage of Richard, King of the Romans.

“A full-size sketch is also sent of the ornamental binding of one of the volumes in the library of the Dean and Chapter. It appears to be English work, and a remarkably fine specimen, worthy of the three truly most excellent works it holds. From the I. P. on both sides conjecture has suggested Dean John Palmer (1597-1608) as the possible owner for whom it was bound; but the present Chapter library had no existence until many years after his time.

“The whole of the ornamental spaces at the angles and in the centre panel are on a gold ground softened by brown lining, as seen in parts of sketch so treated. That part between is left in the rich, reddish brown leather powdered with small, cruciform flowers in gold. The dark green band is balanced with one coloured white, as is similarly the case in the floriated ornaments. It is a most admirable work.”

Mr. J. M. Wood exhibited a selection of sections from the old leaden pipes at Sadler's Wells, to which attention has been drawn at p. 76, and explained the method of their construction. Mr. Wood also exhibited a photograph of oak-carving in a room belonging to the New River Company's Office at Clerkenwell.

Mr. Thos. Blashill contributed a paper on Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire, which was read, in the unavoidable absence of the author, by Mr. W. E. Hughes.

Mr. A. E. Cockayne, F.S.A., communicated the following note:—

“When the books and papers of an old firm of solicitors in Bake-well were lately being removed to new offices adjoining the Town Hall, a quantity of old documents were found which are of considerable interest. There is one, of which I send a transcript, along with a facsimile of the signature thereto. The style of writing is certainly later than the time of the celebrated Dorothy Vernon of romantic fame, and yet the subscription, ‘your trew friend to my power’, and the autograph, incline me to believe that we have here a veritable letter written to Mr. Swan, then the agent to the estate.

“The Duchess of Rutland some time ago informed me, in conversation about the Dorothy Vernon episode—her romantic marriage with John (afterwards Sir John) Mannors—that no scrap of her writing, nor any likeness of her, was known to exist. They had never found any at Belvoir.

*“ Transcript of Letter of Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall, Co. Derby,
Heiress of Sir George Vernon, and Wife of John Manners.*

“ Good Mr. Swann,

“ I know not how to make a note as I think fiting to send to you ; therefore, by Jack, write yⁿ such a note as you thinke good, and send it in your let. to me, and I will set my hand to it, and by the first safe hand send it you againe ; you may say in the note y^t I will pay you the golde againe, or so much as yⁿ will have for change in silver by our Lady day, for I have them frinds that knows of this, w^{ch} I am sure w^d pass there words, or give there hands, but at this time, w^h y^r kindness to me, I will not desier them ; but they assure me if I should die to-morrow it should be payd you at the time. You may say in the noate w^h shall be our Lady Day, therefore make it so, and send it me, by Jack ; and you will still more oblige me to be as trewly I am,

“ Good Mr. Swan,

“ Your trew friend to my power,

“ Dorothy Manners.”

WEDNESDAY, 17TH FEB. 1892.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Society, for “ *Archæologia Æliana*,” Part 40.

„ „ for “ *Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity Dublin, 1337-1346*,” by James Mills. Extra volume of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for 1890-91.

Mr. Macmichael exhibited a collection of lamps and other fictilia, from recent London excavations, and read a short note on some wig-curlers found at Walbrook and elsewhere. Mr. Macmichael also exhibited an illustrated poetical work upon publicans' signs in London at the close of the seventeenth century.

Mr. O. Marriage exhibited the bronze head of a cat, evidently of Egyptian origin, thinly cast in *cire perdue*, and filled up with a kind of cement. It is much oxidised, but has been a fine work of art.

Rev. W. Slater Sykes, of Sheffield, exhibited two celts, and sent the following communication respecting them :—

“ I am sending a stone celt for inspection and exhibition. It was found about Easter last year on a farm called ‘ Crow Nest’, in Lawkland, near Settle. Some men were draining and came upon it about 2½ ft. from the surface. Thinking it was a petrified fish, they took it home, and it passed into the hands of Mr. R. Stockdale, science master at Leeds Grammar School. He gave it to me on the understanding

that it is to be placed, at some time, in the Giggleswick Museum. I enclose with it what I suppose is a stone wedge, found some fifteen or twenty years ago at Hellifield. The latter I send for comparison of stone. They are both apparently of a kind of slate known in the neighbourhood as 'Calliard'.¹ I should like to know if this material is often used."

Rev. Carus V. Collier, *Hon. Correspondent*, sent the following communication:—

NOTES ON A BARROW AT BRADWELL.

"I heard a little while ago that there had been an interesting discovery made at Bradwell, Derbyshire. As soon as possible I went over to the place and, for want of better conveyance, walked a matter of about fifteen miles through the deep snow. On my arrival there I saw that a barrow had been partly dug away. The mound was situated on the border of the property of two landlords, one of them very anxious to have the whole affair unravelled, but the other would not have his part touched. I examined the composition of the barrow, and found it formed of small pieces of limestone and soil (known there as yellow earth), with a large number of old land snails' shells in it. During the removal of the materials of the barrow, which took place before I could arrive on the spot, three skeletons were discovered. From the particulars I obtained, two of the skeletons were on their sides, having the knees tucked under the chin, and placed within a low wall of flattish stones fixed on their edges, and forming three sides of a square. Unfortunately, the man who had made the discovery did not remember how many stones there were, and the snow was too thick for me to get at and examine them. The third skeleton was found lying at full length on its back, with a stone standing at the head and another at the feet. Only one very rough flint flake was found, and from what I could gather it was near the two skeletons within the small cist. Owing to the ignorance and superstition of the people, the skeletons were terribly broken. As many of the bones as I could get, and the flint, I have now in my possession. A friend and I have been trying to put the fragments of two of the skulls together, but have not been very successful. The remaining part of the barrow has quantities of human bones mixed up in it, which, I imagine, are early burials, disturbed for the later interments. As soon as the deep snow has thawed and the weather becomes more favourable I intend paying the site another visit, and shall examine carefully the earth and stones which have been removed from the barrow."

The following paper was then read:—

¹ This word appears to be connected with *caillou*, Fr., a flint.

ST. PIRAN'S CHURCH, CORNWALL.

BY DR. ALFRED C. FRYER.

I send for exhibition two photographs which were taken last summer, in order to show the present condition of the famous Church of Perranzabuloe. This rude stone oratory (25 by 12½ ft.), situated in the heart of sandy dunes, may possibly have been built by St. Piran himself, or perhaps, according to the custom of Celtic Christians, a church was built over his remains. For some three centuries it was used for the rites of religion until it was submerged by sand in the eighth or ninth century, not to be seen again until 1835, when the shifting sand disclosed the long-lost relic.

Cornwall was first Christianised by Irish and Welsh missionaries, during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. These missionaries usually lived in a small cell, with an oratory attached, and it has been pointed out that these oratories correspond exactly with the "Dhamliags" still found in Ireland, and doubtless erected between the fifth to the seventh century.

The legendary history states that at the end of the fourth century St. Patrick visited Cornwall on a crusade against Druidism, and finding his efforts successful, returned to Ireland, where, consecrating twelve bishops, he sent them over to complete the good work. St. Piran was one of these. He is said to have crossed the sea on a mill-stone, and landing at St. Ives, proceeded east for eighteen miles, where he settled, built his cell, and began his ministry. St. Piran is now considered the especial guardian of tanners. Professor Müller has suggested that the name may be derived from a Cymric root, *par*, "to raise" or "dig", and it may be a personification or "apotheosis" of the miner.

This little ruin is not only interesting as a monument of British Christianity, which dates from a very early period, but is an instance of a rural church which is over 1,000 years old. These ancient country churches of Western Europe are exceedingly rare, and the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., says, "They were, in most parts of Europe, built of perishable materials at that time, or have been nearly all destroyed (accidentally or intentionally) in the lapse of ages";¹ and he adds, "It is to be hoped that every care will be taken to preserve these ancient Christian remains existing in England."

The church lies nearly east and west, and the entrance was on the south side. The heads which once ornamented this doorway of primitive construction may be seen in the museum at Truro, together with some of the stones of the moulding. On this same side of the church there was once a rude window, and the east was pierced with an altar window and

¹ *Journal of Royal Institution of Cornwall*, vol. ix, p. 55.

priest's door. The masonry is rude ; no lime was used by the builder ; china clay and sand are employed in its stead. The stones used in its construction are blocks of granite, slate and elvan, and many present a rounded appearance, as if they had been taken from the bed of a stream. In 1835 the altar was removed and three skeletons were found under it. It was rebuilt and capped by a block of granite upon which the name of St. Piran has been cut.

Mr. J. Park Harrison, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford, exhibited and explained a series of drawings and plan of the triforium arches of the transept of Christ Church Cathedral, having grooves for glass in the shafts of the windows in the south transept, which show that they were formerly portions of windows of some older building ; doubtless of the Saxon church which preceded the present Norman fabric. His notes will take the form of a paper, it is hoped, in a future Part of the *Journal*.

In the discussion which ensued, the Chairman, Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, Mr. G. Patrick, Mr. A. G. Langdon, and Mr. O. Marriage took part.

The Chairman gave an account of his recent visit to America, and discussed some of the well-known theories respecting the lost *Atlantis*, by the light of recent investigations into the depth of the soundings in the North Atlantic Ocean.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND MARCH 1892.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to

The Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 5th Series, No. 33, Jan. 1892.

Mr. Macmichael exhibited a fermail from Long Lane, Smithfield, and read notes on the use and material of *fermacula*, or buckles, in the mediæval ages.

Mr. T. Blashill exhibited a cast of a mould, in soft stone, found in excavating at Trinity House Lane, Hull, by Mr. John Symons. It is figured, full size, on p. 83. The original is now in the British Museum. The design, which was, no doubt, intended for a pilgrim's sign, or *signaculum*, consists of a figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury, with mitre, and duplex cross and crozier on one staff, holding up the right hand in the act of pronouncing a blessing. He is riding on a horse led by a

servant holding a staff. Beneath the horse are a dog and trees. The details of the *technique*, which is of the fifteenth century, are very interesting. In some respects, chiefly in the stud-like ornaments, this appears to be the forerunner of the toy-pictures of theatrical characters which children used to embellish with gilt paper-spangles not long ago.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited two French copper coins found on the site of the Duke of Suffolk's Palace, Southwark, A.D. 1512-15,—Henry of Navarre, 1593; Louis XIV, 1643-1715. Also a drawing of a terra-cotta slab from the same spot, elegantly carved in arabesque patterns of conventional foliage and flowers; and a piece of the original, soft white stone stringcourse carved in the same manner; a



string of blue Roman beads picked out of deep ground, a few at a time, in Three Cranes' Court, Southwark.

Mr. Oliver exhibited a crucifix of cast iron, perhaps from the top of a coffin; but perhaps from a wall in a street, as in Canary, where crosses are found everywhere on the walls.

Mr. Brock exhibited a book printed at Basle in 1551, interesting for its silver clasp, hinges, and stamped leather binding.

Mr. Birch read Dr. Fairbank's "Paper on Roman Remains found in Doncaster", which will, it is hoped, find a future place in the *Journal*.

Mr. Brock read a paper on "Waddington Church, Lincolnshire."

WEDNESDAY, 16TH MARCH 1892.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library:—

To the Society, for “Archæological Journal,” No. 192. 1891.

„ „ for “Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries,” vol. xiii, No. IV.

To the Society, for “Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,” No. 8, vol. i, Fifth Series. 1891.

To the Author, for “Estudio Sobre et Sistema Evolucionistu.” Por Emilio Cuervo, M.

It was announced that, by invitation of the Mayor and Corporation of Cardiff, the Annual Congress will be held in that city in the autumn. For further particulars see p. 4 of the coloured wrapper of this *Journal*.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of *figulina* exhumed at Southwark, from the collection of Mr. Gwilt and others, A.D. 1818; a Samian patera from Gracechurch Street; a Samian patera, AISI.M.; and various London articles.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited some cuts of seals of Rievaulx and Hyde Abbeys, and read the following notes:—

SEALS OF RIEVAULX ABBEY, YORKSHIRE, AND HYDE ABBEY,
WINCHESTER.

I have the pleasure of exhibiting casts of the following seals relating to Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire, in illustration of Mr. Compton's paper read at the York Congress, 1891:—

1. An early counterseal attributed to, but very doubtful if of, Rievaulx, of twelfth century workmanship. It is pointed oval, measuring $2\frac{3}{8}$ by $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. The design shows an abbot, with long-sleeved dress, seated on a chair to the right. Before him is a monk bending down, as if about to kneel in confession. The legend appears to be

I[MP]ERTI[T]A : TEGO : [QUAE : SUNT : MICHI :] CLAUSA : REVELO :

2. *First seal of the Abbot*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 in., from a charter dating between 1191-1222, pointed oval; the Abbot seated, reading at a lectern, turned to the right, holding a pastoral staff. The seal reads,

+ SIGNUM : ABBATIS : RIEVALLIS.

3. *Second seal of the Abbot*, about $1\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in., from a charter dating

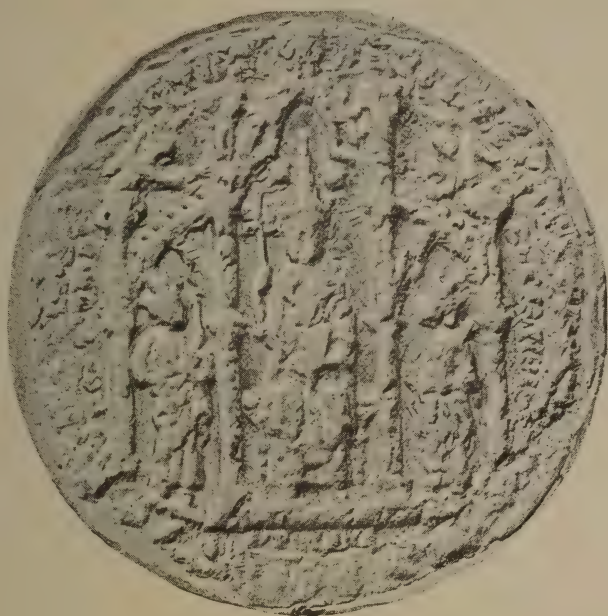




HYDE ABBEY, *First Seal.*
Twelfth Century.



JOHN SUTHILL, *Abbot of Hyde*, A.D. 1181 \times 1222.



HYDE ABBEY, *Second Seal.*

about 1220; pointed oval; the Abbot standing on a corbel or bracket, holding in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.

[+ SI]GILL[UM]: ABBATIS: DE: RIEVALL[E]:

4. The seal referred to in Dugdale's account of the Abbey, pointed oval, $2\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{5}{8}$ in.; apparently late thirteenth century work. On a corbel the figure of St. Bernard (?), with book and staff, between four monks, under an arcade of three arches with crocketed canopies; above, in a smaller niche, the Blessed Virgin Mary crowned, seated on a throne, holding the infant Saviour. The legend is

S': ABBATIS: ET: CONVENTUS: SANCTE: MARIE: RIEVALLIS:

The seals of Hyde consist of—

1. *First seal of the Abbey*, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 in., when perfect, from a charter dating between 1181-1222; of uncertain shape. The remaining part shows, within a square niche with semicircular arch overhead, St. Peter seated on a throne; in the right hand two keys, in the left hand a book. In the field the inscription,

SIGILLV'. SC'I . PETRI . APLI'.

Archaic style. This seal has not, I believe, ever been published.

2. *Second seal of the Abbey*, 3 in. diameter, thirteenth century workmanship, ovate. St. Peter, with crown and mitre, seated on a throne in a niche with trefoiled arch and crocketed canopy; in the right hand a double key, in the left hand a book. The front of the platform or plinth is inscribed with an indistinct inscription, probably forming the first half of a rhyming hexameter verse, which is continued on the reverse in a corresponding position. Below this, the name, S' PETRVS. In a smaller niche, on either side, a king; that on the left, Edward the Elder, crowned, holding a small church, in allusion to his foundation of this Abbey for secular canons. In the field, on one side the niche, the inscription, REX EADW..... On the right, Alfred, crowned, lifting up the right hand in benediction; in the left hand a sceptre; in the field, outside the niche, the inscription, RED..... On each capital of the four columns on which the canopies are supported is an indistinct figure; those on the left are a lion (?) and a demi-angel swinging a censer towards the head of St. Peter; those on the right an indistinct object and another demi-angel. The legend is very obscure, but appears to be:—

SIGILL' . CAPITVLI . EC'CE . S'C'I . PERTI . DE HYDA . IVXTA . WYNTON'.

Rev. St. Barnabas the apostle, with nimbus, standing in a carved niche with trefoiled arch and crocketed canopy; in the right hand a long cross, in the left hand a book. The front edge of the platform, or plinth, inscribed with an indistinct legend, probably the second half

of the rhyming hexameter verse commenced in a corresponding position with this on the *obv.* Below this the name: s' BARNAB'. In a smaller niche on either side, a saint, that on the left, Grimbald, first abbot, standing and holding a book; in the field outside the niche, the inscription, s' GRIMB'; on the right, St. Valentine, holding a head, or uncertain symbol, in the field outside the niche the inscription, s' VALENT'.

: HYDA : PATRONORVM : IVGI : PRECE : TVTA : SIT : HORVM :

This seal has been engraved incorrectly in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* (vol. ii, Pl. xiv, cf. vol ii, p. 435 for descriptive notes).

3. *Seal of Abbot John Suthill.*—From a charter dating between 1181 and 1222, to which the first seal of the Abbey, as described above, is also appended. About $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., pointed oval; the Abbot standing on a platform, in the right hand a book, in the left hand a pastoral staff. The legend reads:

[+] SIGILLVM IOHANNIS ABBATIS DE HID[A].

Mr. Macmichael exhibited a tray of fictilia of the time of Charles I, and perhaps earlier, from the neighbourhood of Charing Cross; also a collection of drawings of signs of various shops and taverns of London.

Mr. Lloyd read a paper on the "Italian Ideas of the Thirteenth Century, with Reference to the Guelph Family of England." It is hoped that the paper may be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Obituary.

MR. THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the distinct loss the Association has sustained by the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., on the 13th of January last. Although quiet and unobtrusive to a degree, he was always one of our most active supporters, while for scholarly learning his papers invariably commanded and obtained respectful attention from those most competent to judge of their merits.

Born on the 18th day of April 1819, Mr. Morgan was sent at an early age to Eton, where he remained until Election July, 1834, when Dr. Keate retired from the Head Mastership. Of his life there he wrote: "The remaining half of my time at Eton was pleasant enough cricket, boating, and bathing 'after two' and 'after four', and walks abroad, with leaps over hedges and ditches. These were frequently

indulged in, diversified sometimes by a paperchase, or a jaunt with a ratcatcher and his terrier and ferrets, which was considered good sport. I remember my first attempt at leaping. I was 'fagged' to the margin of Chalvey Ditch, and told that I must leap over on pain of having my head broken. Hence a very involuntary first attempt which landed me in the middle of Chalvey's black mud. I did better the second time, and became afterwards a fair leaper. As to my studies, on entering, though prepared as well as most boys in Greek, Latin, geography, and French, yet being ignorant of the way of making Latin verses, I had to take a place in a low form where 'non-sense verses' were taught, which caused me rather a waste of time, though this was in some way compensated for by my afterwards taking two double removes, which brought me up in time, and, being a private pupil of my school tutor, the Rev. W. G. Cookesley, he gave me much attention, for which I shall always be grateful. At last I found myself in the remove between the fourth and fifth forms, and here the Rev. Coleridge (who married a daughter of Dr. Keate) placed me among a separate class in the room where he coached the remove. This class he called his 'literati', and it was an honour to get amongst these. On my departure Dr. Keate gave me a leaving-book, *Lucretius de rerum natura*, handsomely bound, whilst Mr. Cookesley gave me *Horatius*, and, on taking leave, said: 'You are going into business, and will not have much time for reading, but, whatever you do, keep up your Homer and your Horace.'"

This parting injunction of his master's he never forgot, and through his busy life he retained his fondness for the classics. Having said good-bye to Eton, he went with his parents to Oporto, where he resided some little time, learning the language of the country and the accomplishments of the day, fencing, etc. Returning to London, he plunged at once into the life of a busy City merchant, and, until he retired a few years ago, he worked with great zest at his business.

He first associated himself with the British Archæological during its early days, in the year 1845, and from thenceforth up to the time of his decease he was an ardent supporter of the Association, and a frequent contributor of learned papers to its *Journal*. As a rule he wrote of Roman archæology, his favourite subject, and one with which he was thoroughly at home and conversant, while his annual Review of the Congress was invariably looked forward to by those members who were unable to attend the pleasant gatherings, as containing a concise, yet clear summary of the proceedings. In the year 1875 he was elected Honorary Treasurer, and he carried out the duties of that onerous position with that consideration and genial tact which made him so pleasant a companion, so charming a friend. He held this honorary office for a considerable period, and only gave it up with

regret at the Annual Meeting in 1890. Meanwhile, he had been elected a Vice-President, and many members of the Council will recall with pleasure the Council meetings held at Hillside House, Streatham Hill, in summer weather, and the cordial reception extended to them by their host. In former days he was a comrade with many men famous in their generation in the archæological world, amongst whom may be mentioned Thomas Wright, F.S.A. ; J. R. Planché, F.S.A., the Somerset Herald ; J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, F.R.S., and Thomas Pettigrew. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1875, but he rarely if ever read papers at Burlington House, reserving his efforts for the Association to which he always clung.

His greatest work was, of course, *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, which he brought out in 1886, a volume which was at once well received, and which is and will remain a standard work on the subjects of which it treats. Upon its publication *The Times* spoke of it as "a valuable work, and one prepared with great care and research. It not only furnishes a full history of the discovery of the pavements, but a record and interpretation of their designs. The work before us is no superficial record of Romano-British research, but a thoroughly able and comprehensive treatise, in the preparation of which the author has had the advice and assistance of many of our most distinguished archæologists and antiquaries." *The Athenæum* and other literary papers gave the author high praise for his erudite production.

Thus one by one our old friends disappear, while we who remain mourn their loss and keep their memory ever green by living o'er again the happy days we spent in their company.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Excavations at Talley Abbey, Carmarthenshire.—On the main road from Llandilo to Lampeter, about seven miles from the former place, stands the village of Talley, situated in a narrow valley on the watershed of two small streams, one flowing into the Cothi, northwards, and the other southwards into the Towy. In the churchyard are the ruins of what is left above ground of the church of the important Abbey of Talley, a Premonstratensian Monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist, said to have been founded by Rhys ap Gruffydd, titular Prince of South Wales, who died 1196. It flourished till the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, at which time it had eight canons, and its revenue was estimated at £153 1s. 4d. Mr. S. W. Williams, F.S.A., is reporting to the *Welshman*, and the *Arch. Cambrensis*, as follows:—

Until the year 1772 the abbey church, or some part of it, was used as the parish church of Talley, but, being found too large for the purpose, and having become much dilapidated, the parishioners took down the greater portion of the building, and, with the materials, erected the present church, which stands on the north side of the site of the monastery.

This destruction of the ancient edifice resulted in the entire structure falling into decay, and, as in nearly every similar case, it became a quarry from whence the neighbouring buildings were erected; wherever there was a piece of freestone in buttress, angle, pier, or arch, there the crowbar was at work, wrenching it away, and gradually, piece by piece, the entire fabric, with the exception of a portion of the central tower and two of its arches, have disappeared.

Not long ago Mr. Williams visited Talley by the kind invitation of the Vicar, the Rev. J. H. Lloyd, and the two Churchwardens, Sir James Drummond of Edwinsford, and D. Long Price, Esq., of Talley House. To these gentlemen great credit is due for having taken the initiative in the exploration of the ruins. On the morning of the 24th operations were commenced, a staff of workmen having been supplied by Sir James Drummond and Mr. Long Price, with Mr. L. Bowen, the Edwinsford Farm steward, as foreman.

Operations were confined to the site and ruins of the abbey church, which, with a portion of the cloister garth, are, as at Strata Florida, situated within the area of the churchyard, but the southern boundary wall cuts off the south-eastern angle of the presbytery, and a greater

portion of the south transept. The whole of the conventual buildings are, therefore, outside the churchyard. The sites of these, being occupied by a modern farmhouse and homestead, have entirely disappeared.

The line of the north transept was first of all traced, and it was found that from 5 to 8 ft. in height of the walls still remained covered up with the fallen *débris* of the building. The total length of the transept inside (north of the tower) is 36 ft. 9 ins., its width, 29 ft. East of this were found the external walls of the transeptal chapels, which are probably two in number in each transept. The springing of the arch of the southern of these two chapels still remains, and a fragment of the plain barrel vaulting with which they were covered.

In tracing the north wall of the north transept, the north door was found, with plain, chamfered, external jambs, nearly 4 ft. wide in the clear, and, a little further on, the staircase, leading up, in the thickness of the wall, to a passage over the chapels to the tower, of which seven steps are still *in situ*. In the internal angle of the northern chapel is a pavement of plain red buff and blue glazed tiles, but it was thought advisable not to uncover any portion of the floors of the chapels until systematic excavations were commenced, when they will be carefully uncovered, to prevent damage to the tile pavements which apparently exist here.

At the north-eastern angle of the tower the excavations were also carried down to floor level, with the result that the jambs of the tower piers were found to be moulded at the angles, and that there was a plain chamfered base of early transitional work, probably of the middle of the twelfth century. The builders had only carried up the external angles of the piers of the tower in moulded freestone as far as the spring of the pointed arches. All above that is plain rubble masonry, which has been plastered. This points to the fact that the earliest builders were unable to carry on the work so expensively as they had commenced, and from the absence, so far, of any carved stonework in the *débris*, the Abbey of Talley seems to have been a structure of great plainness and simplicity. The windows appear to have been filled with stained glass, as several small fragments were found, one of exquisite ruby tint.

The line of the presbytery was defined internally. It is 44 ft. 9 ins. long by 29 ft. wide. The latter dimension is also the size of the inside of the tower, which is perfectly square, and, it may be noted, is 2 ft. larger than the tower of St. David's Cathedral, 1 ft. more than at Strata Florida Abbey, and is only exceeded by the central tower of St. Asaph Cathedral, which is 29 ft. 6 ins. Talley, therefore, possessed a central tower equal in dimensions to any of the greater Welsh churches.

Attention was then directed to the nave and aisles, and with very little difficulty the line of the north arcade traced for a distance of 75 ft. In this length are four of the piers, still standing above the original floor level about 6 ft., though now at the level of and just below the turf of the churchyard, thus indicating that the ruins generally are covered with about from 6 to 8 ft. of *débris*, and, when excavated, the walls now underground will in most places be found still standing to that height. Between the piers of the north arcade is a thinner wall, which may have been the screen-wall, dividing the north from the nave. Time did not admit of tracing whether a similar screen exists in the south arcade.

Of the north wall of the church no trace could be found, but its point of junction with the bond stones in the west wall of the north transept is still apparent. Whether it was ever built, and whether, if built, it was pulled down at some later period, cannot yet be determined. Further excavations are necessary to settle this point. A trench, driven at right angles to the south wall in the cloister garth, established its position, and it was traced westward to a point where it leaves the churchyard, and, after following it for a distance of 8 ft. or so into an adjoining garden, the base of the massive buttress of the south-west angle of the west front was found; and here the work terminated on Saturday morning the 27th ult.

Thus, after three days, with a staff of eight men, the party was enabled to define the general outline of the Church of Talley Abbey, and the following comparative figures will show that in point of size it exceeds the dimensions, in most particulars, of the great abbey church of Strata Florida, being in total length 5 ft. 3 ins. longer, and in width of nave and aisles exceeding it by 1 ft. 6 ins.:—

Strata Florida Abbey.—Total length, 213 ft.; length of nave 132 ft. 6 ins.; breadth of nave and aisles, 61 ft.; length of transepts, including central tower, 117 ft. 3 ins.; breadth of transept, 28 ft.; square of lantern of tower, 28 ft.; length of presbytery, 48 ft. 4 ins.

Talley Abbey.—Total length, 228 ft. 3 ins.; length of nave, 145 ft.; breadth of nave and aisles, 62 ft. 6 ins.; length of transepts, including central tower, 112 ft.; breadth of transept, 29 ft.; square of lantern of tower, 29 ft.; length of presbytery, 44 ft. 9 ins.

The nave arcades at Strata Florida consisted of seven arches; at Talley there appear to have been eight.

The result of the explorations during three days' work was so encouraging that an impromptu meeting of those interested was held at Mr. Long Price's house, on Friday evening, the 26th ult., when the following were constituted a Provisional Committee for the further exploration and complete excavation of Talley Abbey:—The Vicar (Rev. J. H. Lloyd); Sir James Drummond, Bart., and Mr. Long

Price, churchwardens; the Ven. Archdeacon Edmondes, Lampeter; the Rev. C. Chidlow, Caio, secretary for South Wales of the Cambrian Archæological Association; and Mr. S. W. Williams, F.S.A.; with power to add to their numbers. Sir James Drummond was elected chairman and treasurer; Mr. Long Price and the Rev. J. H. Lloyd, joint secretaries.

Sir James Drummond kindly offered to continue the preliminary excavations, and expend the sum of £20 thereon in labour; and it is hoped that ere the Cambrian Archæological Society visits Talley next August, the entire of the abbey church will be cleared to the floor level. If this is done, very interesting discoveries will most certainly be made, and much of the history of Talley Abbey may be elucidated thereby.

British Archæological Association.

FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, CARDIFF, 1892.

MONDAY, AUGUST 22, TO SATURDAY, AUGUST 27.

PATRONS.

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.

THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., EARL
MARSHAL.

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE,
D.C.L.

THE EARL NELSON.

THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND
NOTTINGHAM.

THE LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF, D.D.,
F.S.A.

THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, D.D.

LORD WINDSOR, LORD LIEUTENANT OF
GLAMORGANSHIRE.

LORD TREDEGAR.

LORD ABERDARE, G.C.B., F.R.S.

SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE-BOUGHTON, BART.

SIR JOSEPH L. E. SPEARMAN, BART.

SIR H. HUSSEY VIVIAN, BART., M.P.

SIR GEORGE WALKER, BART.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.,
F.S.A.

COL. SIR EDWARD S. HILL, K.C.B., M.P.

SIR J. JONES JENKINS.

SIR W. THOMAS LEWIS.

SIR MORGAN MORGAN.

SIR E. J. REED, K.C.B., M.P.

THE RIGHT REV. J. C. HEDLEY, BISHOP
OF NEWPORT AND MENEVA.

THE VEN. THE ARCHDEACON OF MON-
MOUTH, M.A.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LLAN-
DAFF, D.D.

ARTHUR GILBERTSON, ESQ., THE HIGH
SHERIFF OF GLAMORGANSHIRE.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF
CARDIFF.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF
NEWPORT.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF
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EVENING MEETINGS.

Meetings, at 8.30 P.M. each evening, from Tuesday, August 23, to Saturday, August 27, inclusive, for the Reading of Papers and Discussions, will be held in the Town Hall, by the courtesy of the Mayor and the Municipal Authorities. It is hoped that ladies will attend these Meetings. No paper, as a rule, is to exceed twenty minutes in reading.

Alterations may be made in the following proposed proceedings. PROGRAMMES FOR EACH DAY, containing full and precise directions, will, however, be regularly issued, to prevent, if possible, the occurrence of mistakes.

The Papers and Addresses will be given, according to circumstances, either at the Evening Meetings or at the places to which they relate. The announcements will appear in the daily programmes. The Council does not undertake that all Papers shall be read at the Evening Meetings, even if announced, nor that they shall afterwards be printed in the Journal of the Association.

British Archaeological Association.

CARDIFF CONGRESS.

PROPOSED PROGRAMME.

MONDAY, AUGUST 22.

Leave Park Hotel, Cardiff, at 9.30; and drive through Ely to Llantrithyd. Inspect the Church and Ruins of Llantrithyd "Place". Drive to Cowbridge; inspect the Church (observe the fortified tower) and Walls. Luncheon at 1 P.M. Leave at 2. Drive, by way of the ruins of St. Quintin's Castle, to Llanmihangel; inspect the old mansion with "pleasaunce" of yew-trees, and the Church. The return drive will conduct to Old Beaupre, the remains of an important mansion in a late Elizabethan Classic style. Continue to St. Hilary for tea, on the invitation of T. Mansell-Franklen, Esq. Return to Cardiff by about 6.30.

(The above is subject to alteration.)

TUESDAY, AUGUST 23.

Leave G.W.R. Station at 10.30 A.M.; arrive at Pyle Station 11.9. Drive to Margam, stopping to inspect the Ogham Stone; visit Margam Abbey, the Cistercian Chapter House (about which is placed a unique collection of inscribed stone crosses), and the Grounds. Luncheon at 1 o'clock, on the invitation of Miss Talbot. Leave at 2.0. Drive through Neath to Neath Abbey, arriving about 3.30; return to Neath and (if time permits) inspect the Castle ruins. Leave G.W.R. Station at 4.25; arrive Cardiff 6.10.

Those who desire to visit the Bodvoc Stone and Bulwarken Camp above Margam, must omit Neath, and make their return to Cardiff from Port Talbot Station at 4.57; also arriving Cardiff at 6.10,

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 24.

Leave Park Hotel at 9.30 A.M. Drive to Llandaff; inspect the ruined Episcopal Palace and Cathedral; drive to Castell Coch and inspect the building as restored and decorated from the designs of the late Wm. Burges, A.R.A., for the Marquess of Bute. Resume the drive to Caerphilly. Luncheon, by the invitation of the Marquess of Bute, in the Banqueting Hall at 1.30. Leave at 2.30. Halt at the Van, a ruined mansion of the Lewis family (Lord Windsor's), and continue the drive through Rudry and Ruperra Park to Cefn Mably. Inspect the fine Tudor-Georgian mansion, the residence of H. M. Kemeys Tynte, Esq. Return to Cardiff, halting at Cae Castell Camp for tea, on the invitation of Henry Heywood, Esq., Witla Court. Reach Cardiff about 6.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25.

Leave G.W.R. Station at 9.30. Going through Newport, and arriving at Caerleon Station at 10. Inspect the Roman Amphitheatre and Camp, etc., also the Museum of Roman and Celtic objects found at Caerleon. Leave by train at 12.31, arriving at Cardiff 1.15. Leave the Park Hotel at 2.30. Drive through Fairwater to St. Fagan's. Halt (if time permits) and inspect the Castle, the seat of Lord Windsor. Leave at 3.30. Drive to Talygarn for a garden-party, on the invitation of G. T. Clark, Esq. Return to Cardiff by about 6.30.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 26.

Leave Park Hotel at 9.30. Drive through Ely; leave the main road, and drive to Caerau village; leave the carriages and ascend to Caerau Camp. Return to the main road; drive through St. Lythan's to the Dyffryn and St. Nicholas Cromlechs. Continue the drive to Llancarvan (halt and inspect the Church), thence to Flemingstone (a house of the Tudor period, also the tomb of "Iolo Morganwg"), past Eglwys Brewis (considered the smallest church in Wales), and the site of East Orchard Castle, to St. Athan's Church, containing a fine decorated tomb of the Berkerolle family, and thence past Boverton Place and the site of Caer Wrgan (the recently-discovered Roman villa) to Llantwit Major. Lunch at 1.15. Inspect the Church and the remarkable inscribed crosses; leaving at 3, and driving past Gileston Church and the Harbour of Aberthaw to Fonmon Castle. Inspect the Castle and drive through Porthkerry Park to Barry Station. Leave Barry by 5.13 train (observe the new Docks at Barry); arrive at Queen Street (Taff Vale Railway) Station, Cardiff, at 5.45.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 27.

Leave G.W.R. Station at 10.13; arrive at Bridgend at 10.52. Leave Bridgend at 11 and drive to Coity Castle. Inspect the Castle and drive to Coychurch. Continue the drive to Ewenny Abbey. Lunch at Ewenny Abbey at 1, on the invitation of Colonel J. Picton-Turberville. Leave at 2.15; driving through St.

Bride's Major to St. Donat's Castle, beautifully placed on the coast. Return through Wick to Bridgend Station in time for 6.57 train to Cardiff, arriving (G.W.R. Station) at 7.30.

The following opportunities can be taken of visiting the antiquities of Cardiff:—The ruins of the Black Friars Priory and the Excavations at the Castle, on Wednesday evening after returning from Cefn Mably. Cardiff Castle on Friday evening, after returning from Barry. The interior of St. John's Church, with the Herbert tomb and screens of the Bute Chapel, on each Sunday; these could also be seen on Tuesday and Saturday before the departure of the train at 10.13.

LIST OF PROBABLE PAPERS.

The following titles have already been received:—

- "Certain Official Seals of Wales," by ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Treas.*
- "Historical Notes on Margam Abbey," by W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.
- "Comparison of the Roman Stations at Caer Went, Caerleon, and Cardiff," by E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.
- "The History of St. Fagan's," by the Rev. W. DAVID, M.A.
- "How I found the Site of the Roman Station Bibracte," by J. W. GROVER, F.S.A., V.P.
- "Llantwit Major: a Fifth Century University," by A. C. FRYER, Ph.D., M.A., F.C.S., F.R.H.S.
- "The Architectural Remains of Margam Abbey," by E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.
- "Arthurian Necropoleis," by J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.
- "The Charters of Glamorgan," by W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.
- "The Early Christian Monuments of Glamorganshire," by J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A., Scot.

The following gentlemen have kindly consented to act as guides on occasions to be hereafter announced:—

JOHN STORRIE, Esq.; T. H. THOMAS, Esq.; J. COATES CARTER, Esq.; ROBERT DRANE, Esq.; J. ILLTYD NICHOL, Esq.; DR. C. T. VACHELL; E. SEWARD, Esq., and others.

NOTICE.

Ladies and Gentlemen intending to be present at the Congress should arrange, if possible, to reach CARDIFF during Saturday, August 20, or on Monday, 22 inst., where accommodation may be found by inquiry of the Proprietor of the Park Hotel, who will find accommodation for the party at the rate of 9/6 per person per day (slightly increased for Sunday). Applications for Tickets, and all other information, should be made to the HON. TREASURERS, and HON. SECRETARIES without delay. Hotel accommodation is limited. Ladies are specially invited to all the meetings.

Carriages for the Excursions will be provided at a moderate price per head. Ladies and Gentlemen intending to avail themselves of these arrangements, should apply for information at the Committee Room, and take care to provide themselves with Tickets at the latest on THE EVENING PRECEDING EACH EXCURSION; otherwise it will be impossible for them to obtain seats when Carriages are provided, or to join in the day's proceedings.

CONGRESS TICKETS.

TICKETS of admission, One Guinea each, for the entire CONGRESS, admitting a Gentleman and a Lady, or Half-a-Guinea each, admitting a Lady only, may be obtained (on producing a voucher from a Member of Committee) of the Vice-Treasurer, S. RAYSON, Esq., 32, Sackville Street, W., or of the HON. SECRETARIES, or Hon. Local Treasurer or Secretary at Cardiff. Early application should be made on the form printed herewith.

Each Ticket confers the right to be present at the meetings, and to attend all the *Soirées*, Excursions, etc., which may be arranged for the Members of the Association. It must be produced at all places visited by the Association, and whenever required. It also enables the holder to introduce friends to the Evening Meetings for the reading of papers.

DONATIONS.

DONATIONS in aid of the expenses of the Congress, and of the ILLUSTRATION FUND, as well as general objects of the ASSOCIATION, may be paid to the Hon. Treasurer, Vice-Treasurer, or to the Hon. Local Treasurer or Secretary at Cardiff.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS from those who may be desirous of becoming Associates, must be paid to the Hon. Treasurer after election. Ladies and Gentlemen paying Two Guineas at the least (which may include the Congress Ticket), will be entitled to the volume of the PROCEEDINGS of the Association relating to this Congress, but they do not become ASSOCIATES. Larger Donations will be recognised by a proportionate number of succeeding volumes of the Society's publications.

ASSOCIATES are elected by the COUNCIL on the nomination of Two Members; the SUBSCRIPTION is One Guinea per annum, and the ENTRANCE FEE One Guinea. The LIFE COMPOSITION is Fifteen Guineas.

British Archæological Association.

CONGRESS AT CARDIFF, 1892.

*Please supply me with Congress Ticket at One Guinea,
to admit a Gentleman and Lady, or Congress Ticket ,
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Name _____

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[From a Photograph by]

Selby Abbey. The Nave.

[Frith & Co.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1892.

SELBY ABBEY CHURCH.

BY J. P. PRITCHETT, ESQ., OF DARLINGTON, MEMBER OF COUNCIL
FOR YORKSHIRE.

*(Being an Enlargement of the Description given on the Visit of the Association
to the Abbey on August 22, 1891.)*

THE only points in the history which I shall name in this short paper are : (1) It was a Benedictine house, being second only in importance to St. Mary's Abbey, York, of all the Yorkshire houses of that Order. (2) It was founded in 1069 by William the Conqueror. (3) That our first English king after the Conquest (Henry I) was born at Selby, probably in the cell or small house that was the forerunner of the subsequent important Abbey.¹ (4) It is the only monastic church in Yorkshire which is not wholly or in part a ruin. The other four chief churches in the county, York, Ripon, Beverley, and Howden, not having been monastic, but collegiate churches, served by secular canons, and the other two monastic churches, viz., Bolton Abbey, formerly a church of Austin Canons, and St. Mary's, Scarborough, the only church of the Cistercian Order in the country that is still used for Divine worship, both having their choirs destroyed. How Selby Abbey Church escaped is a mystery. Possibly the laity had rights of worship in the nave, as frequently happened in Benedictine churches, and the remains of a bracket for a

¹ See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, and a paper by the same author in *The Saturday Review*, showing that Mr. Freeman accepts the tradition as true.

lamp or image still exist, half-way down the nave, probably indicating that an altar stood there for the laity. It is just *possible* that Henry VIII may have spared the church out of respect to the memory of his namesake, Henry I, who was born in the Abbey, as it is well known that he was amenable to such considerations, and that we owe the preservation of Peterborough Abbey Church and its conversion into a cathedral to the fact of Queen Catherine of Arragon having been buried there. The Vicar informs me that the ancient parish church, known as the "Little Church", stood on Church Hill, and he suggests that this having become too small, the parishioners purchased the Abbey Church from the Crown on its dissolution. There is a tradition that the present font came from the old church. However, Selby Abbey Church was formally constituted the parish church, by letters patent dated 20th of March 1618, the sixteenth year of James I's reign.

Those who were present on August 22nd last, will remember that the nave was boarded off from the rest of the church, which was undergoing restoration. This, in some respects, was unfortunate, but in other ways it induced us to study each part separately, and so the fine Norman nave received its full share of attention.

The earliest parts of the church are the lower portion of the central tower and the north transept, the south transept of corresponding date having been destroyed by the fall of the tower in 1690. The date of this portion may be put at 1100-1125. The Norman choir, which was removed to make room for the present magnificent Decorated choir, would probably be rather earlier.

In the course of excavations round the walls of the church the curved wall of an apse was discovered, in such a position as to show that the original Norman choir had no aisles, and that the transepts had semi-circular apses at their east side. Proceeding west, the nave is not only a very fine specimen of Norman work, but presents many features of special interest, as a careful examination of its details shows a complete and gradual and continuous transition from pure Norman to pure Early English in this one building.

The first pier and arch on each side, commencing from

the east, were, no doubt, built at the same time as the piers and arches of the tower, to act as abutments, the arch on the south side being a few years earlier in style than that on the north. The next arch on east side is rather later again, but still pure Norman.

Soon after these arches were built it is evident that the tower had begun to settle, as the double arch with central shaft in the triforium was taken out, and one of the smaller arches rebuilt, within the large containing arch, with solid masonry between them.

Proceeding west, the next two bays on the north side have evidently had a part of the archstones prepared some time before they were fixed, for the outer order of arch-mouldings and the capital of central pier are Transitional, whilst the inner order of arch mouldings is Norman. The piers and arches on each side from this point, forming the west half of the nave, are late Transitional, merging, in the westernmost pair, almost into Early English, having the Early English or Attic base, and the beautiful capitals, with small abacus and delicate voluted foliage, like the work of William of Sens at Canterbury, and the coeval work at St. Cuthbert's, Darlington, about 1190-1200. The whole of the triforium on the north side is of similar character, whilst that on the south side is pure and very beautiful Early English, quite equal to the coeval work at York and Beverley, and has one beautiful feature which is, I believe, unique, viz., octagonal shafts springing from corbels at the level of the sill of triforium arches, opposite to the centre of each bay, but clear of the regular shafts, and carried up through the triforium and clerestory to carry the roof.

The clerestory on both sides is coeval with this south triforium, forming with it a continuous design on the south side, but forming a striking contrast to the triforium on the north side, where the work has evidently been at a standstill for twenty years. It is low and comparatively plain. The outer walls are evidently of the same date as the pillars opposite to them, the north wall having a very distinct break in a string-course at the junction of the late Norman and late Transitional work.

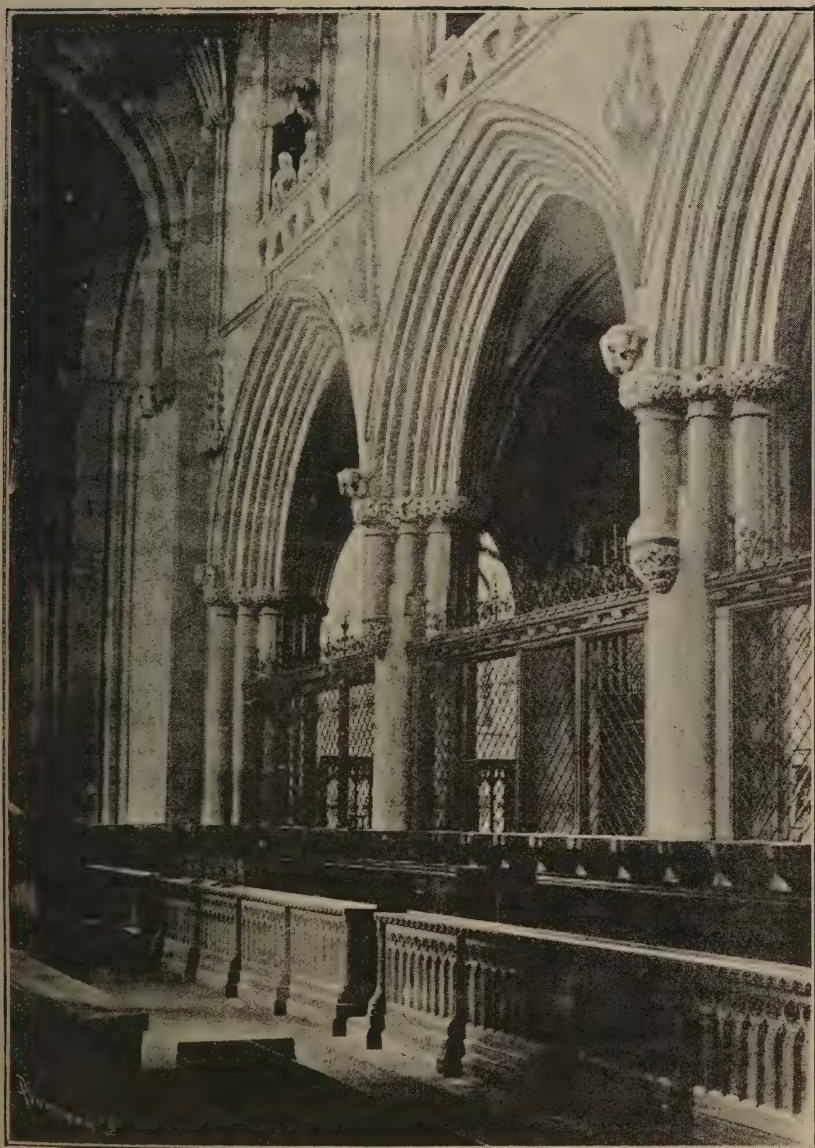
Probably a temporary roof was erected over the nave and aisles before the triforium was built, as was done at

Peterborough and elsewhere. All the windows on the south side and all below are insertions in the Decorated period, with very good tracery. The doorway on south side to former dormitory still exists, and a plain window, walled up, was, no doubt, to light the staircase.

The west end is coeval with the westernmost bays on each side, its lower stage being Late Transitional, with some earlier Norman mouldings used in the inner order of the west door arch, and the porch door on the north side is similar. The upper tiers of the west end are very beautiful Early English, coeval with the south clerestory, but the wide central window is filled with Perpendicular tracery.

The groining of nave aisles is very interesting, that in the easternmost bay of south side being Norman, with bold mouldings, in character with the arcade of that bay. The rest of the groining on both sides is Early English, with carved bosses at some of the intersections. The nave roof is very good, being of Henry VI's time, and having fifty-nine bosses, with numerous symbolical devices of great beauty.

Proceeding now to the choir, the restoration of which has been completed since our visit. It may be confidently placed the first in beauty of its period (the Pure Decorated) of any choir, not cathedral, in the kingdom, and in beauty of detail not surpassed by *any* other church, large or small, in the kingdom. This work is very well illustrated and compared with other choirs now in ruins in *Sharp's Parallels*, where it is shown to be almost identical with the ruined choir of Guisbro Priory of Austin Canons. The work is also of the same character as the remains of the larger Abbey Church of St. Mary's, York. The piers are beautifully clustered in plan, with very ornate carved capitals, and in the spandrils are exquisite niches which no doubt contained statues. The triforium and clerestory are united in one arrangement, which was done, no doubt, to obtain dignity of height in the design, and still keep the roof at about the same level as that of the nave. The most beautiful feature in the choir is the east window of seven lights, surmounted by exquisite tracery, only surpassed by that of Carlisle Cathedral. This beautiful choir was evidently some years in building, as it contains the development of the Late or "Flowing" Decorated, from



From a Photograph by]

Selby Abbey. The Choir.

[W. Rawling.

the Early or "Geometrical" Decorated. Most of the aisle windows, as well as the main arcade before named, being magnificent examples of the earlier type, and the triforium and clerestory, east window arch, and tracery, being of the later style.

The windows at ends of choir aisles, and the easternmost two on south side, show the earliest form of development from the pure Geometrical into the Curvilinear or Flowing style, having the tracery in the double ogee form, which a few years later became so common.

The same transition is shown in a very interesting way in the east window, the jambs and seats for mullions being in the bolder type of the Early Decorated, but by the time the work was ready for the arch, mullions, and tracery, the later Flowing style had come in; so thinner mullions sit on the bolder seats, the arch has more intricate mouldings, which do not fit on the jamb moulds below, and the tracery is, as before named, a most beautiful example of the pure Flowing style.

The clerestory is all in the later style, but not so richly moulded as the aisles. The aisle buttresses, with their canopies and turrets, are very beautiful, being very fine examples of the pure Geometrical Decorated period.

The east window contains some of the most beautiful stained glass in the world. It is a "Jesse" window, and instead of being destroyed at the Reformation, was hidden in latter days by some loving hands in the triforium, whence it was disinterred by the present Vicar, who, through the liberality of W. Liversidge, Esq., has had it releaded and refixed. This beautiful glass alone is worth a pilgrimage to see.

The ceiling of the choir is groined in oak, though the internal stone springers and the external tothing for flying buttresses indicate that stone groining was intended. Although such a change of material is, of course, to be regretted, especially as the dark colour counteracts the heaven-aspiring effect of groining, it is a very beautiful example of late Decorated lierne vaulting, and the bosses, which were all photographed by the vicar when the scaffolding was up, are most curious and interesting, and have been copied, so far as alteration of style would allow, in the ancient Perpendicular ceiling of nave. The choir aisles

are groined in stone. The north transept has been almost remodelled in the Decorated style when the choir was built, except the end window, which is Perpendicular, almost filling up the north gable.

The tower, which fell in 1690, had two stages of Norman work, and the upper of the Decorated period, as will be seen in the accompanying engraving, taken from a drawing made before the fall of the ancient tower in 1690. It was rebuilt in a very poor manner in 1702, and is said to be in a bad condition.



View taken before the Fall of original Tower in 1690.

The chapel on the south side of choir is a beautiful building, each story of which corresponds with the same stages in choir. The lower story has evidently served as the Abbot's sacristy as well as a chapel. It has a feature not existing, so far as I know, in any remaining building, three arched recesses, probably for the Abbot's mitres, used on different occasions, and indications of the hinges for a fall-down table for laying out the robes. A beautiful specimen of mediæval carpentry, which is now on the north side of choir, no doubt stood originally in this sacristy as a wardrobe; the arrangements for holding the crozier are very apparent.

The upper story was probably the scriptorium of the Abbey. The stone groining of this upper room is destroyed, but below it is perfect, and a very good example. In this building is to be seen a simple but good arrangement, which Mr. Tweedie found in the choir roof, for ringing the sanctus bell, a cylinder with balance-weights to assist the oscillation of the bell.

A few words must still be said about the tombs and internal fittings. The former are chiefly in the retrochoir, or lady chapel, some of them being of the Abbots, the most interesting being a coped stone with a handsome dog-tooth moulding, and bearing the simple word "Alexander", he being abbot from 1214 to 1228, but having then resigned on account of age, he was not "Abbas" at the time of his death. There are other tombs of Abbots, particulars of which, with the history of most of the Abbots, can be found in the handbook by the Rev. A. G. Tweedie, M.A., Vicar of Selby.

The stalls are very good, about half of them being ancient, probably late Decorated, and the new portions being copied from them, and the front range of seats being designed in harmony with them.

There is also an interesting Perpendicular screen at the west end of the aisle of choir, and some ancient ironwork, which has been extensively copied, to separate the choir from the aisles without causing any obstruction. The stone altar screen between choir and retrochoir is a good example of late Decorated work, and the sedilia is a fine specimen of Perpendicular work. Some remains of the old cornice and cresting surmounting the altar screen have afforded a very good precedent in designing similar work across the whole choir. The foliage seems of decidedly French flamboyant style.

To recount the various works undertaken in restoring this splendid church would be outside the scope of this paper, but I may say that the nave was done, about twenty years since, by Sir Gilbert Scott, whose son, Mr. Oldred Scott, has recently finished the choir. The south transept and tower still remain to be completed at a cost of another £10,000.

I think we are all much indebted to the present vicar, who, I understand, resigned a valuable living and accepted this poor one of Selby on purpose to restore this beautiful church, and who has so lovingly fulfilled the heavy responsibility he thus undertook.

The description, with illustrations, of the Jesse window, the ancient tombs, the bosses of choir groining, and nave roof, would form delightful subjects for a further paper at some future time.

SUTTON IN HOLDERNESS, AND THE MONKS OF MEAUX.

BY THOMAS BLASHILL, ESQ.

(Read 3 Feb. 1892.)

THE *Chronicle of Meaux Abbey*, published by the Master of the Rolls more than twenty years ago, supplies many illustrations of the agricultural arrangements in Sutton, and the relations between the monastery and the lords of the manor. I propose to extract those which are the most interesting, identifying the localities to which they relate.

Down to about the end of the eleventh century the "Sudtone" of the Domesday Survey would be a long, narrow island near the eastern shore of a wide, shallow, tidal lagoon, the opposite margin of which touched the foot of the Yorkshire Wolds. It was the south town of Wagene (now Waghen or Wawne), to which, when the tide was not too high, it was slightly attached at its northern end, a low hill, or holme, called Sepholme, or Sopholme (now Soffham) forming that extremity. Thence it extended for two-and-a-half miles, towards the south-east, where, beyond Risholme, it was similarly attached to the southern part of the main isle of Holderness. On the face of the lagoon a few small grassy holmes just showed here and there above the shallow water, or the more frequent mud.

The ridge of the low island was laid out in open arable fields, tilled by the eight-ox plough. Whether the team of eight were all yoked at one time or not, the plough and its draught-oxen served as the standard measure for the land. Each plough would cultivate about one hundred and twenty acres; thus the share of each ox might be fifteen acres, which was an oxgang of arable land. Each oxgang was made up of about thirty half-acre "lands", or "selions", dispersed about the manor, intermixed with others, but clearly remembered. From Soffham to Risholme we can still count their furrowed outlines,

SKETCH MAP
OF
THE PARISH OF SUTTON.



SHOWING—

The Sudtone of Domesday.
The reclaimed Carrs and Ings.
The enclosures and pasturage claimed by the Monks in the
West Carr, Magnusdayle, and the Salts.
Etc. etc. etc.



sweeping with a double curvature away from the ancient road downwards towards the ings and carrs. To every oxgang belonged a definite portion of the common meadows that lay beyond the arable fields, and the right of grazing a definite number of cattle over the mown meadows, the reaped cornfields, the fallows, and the rough pastures and marshes that bordered the isle. Thus the shares of ploughland, meadow, and pasturage were practically inseparable, being alike essential to the free tenant, or farmer, who, out of his stock of cattle, had to provide for each oxgang one ox to yoke to the common plough.

The embankment of the Humber and of the River Hull transformed the great waste of mud and water into something which, in time, would turn to meadow, or pasture, or improvable marsh, when Sutton, no longer an island, would find itself encircled with thousands of acres of green ings and carrs. Of this new territory the lion's share would go to whosoever may have held the manor and carried out the embankment. Thus we find an irregular fringe of land extending nearly the whole length of the River Hull, enclosed and appropriated, presumably by the lords of the manor, who held also a great breadth of the new unenclosed meadows, with an ample share of the pasturage. The rest of the meadow and pasture was divided amongst the free tenants on the manor, the holders of the old lands, to every oxgang a definite and liberal share. But there was no permanent or necessary attachment of these new lands to the ancient customary system of the manor; they might be given, sold, or bequeathed, as we shall see they actually were, without disturbing the old agricultural routine.

In 1150, perhaps half a century or more after the acquisition of this new inheritance, but before its value could be fully appreciated, William, Earl of Albemarle, the over-lord of Holderness, founded, on the further side of Wawne, the Abbey of Melsa, or Meaux. The Cistercian monks were then distinguished above all others for piety and self-discipline; before long they were recognised, also, as the most considerable sheep-farmers of the time. As they soon came in contact with the lords of Sutton, a list of those important personages will help us to follow the transactions between them and the monks.

Siward de Sutton, living in the time of the Con- queror	1269 Sir Sayer de Sutton, jun.
C.1156 Sayer de Sutton, the first	1289 Sayer de Sutton
„ 1173 William de Sutton	1292 Sir John de Sutton, senr.
„ 1186 Amandus de Sutton	1339 Sir John de Sutton, jun.
„ 1211 Sir Sayer de Sutton, senr., whose son and heir, Sir Amandus, died before him	1357 Sir Thomas de Sutton (the brother of Sir John), the last male heir. He died in 1401, leaving coheireses, now represented by Lord de Mauley

One of the first acquisitions of the monks of Meaux was the land at the southern corner of Wawne, where they made a fish-house with fish-ponds, and afterwards water-mills at the river-bank. Soon after 1150, Adam, their first Abbot, obtained by exchange from the first Sayer de Sutton a dwelling-place called Herney's Croft, near the northern end of that fringe of enclosed land which stretched along the riverside, together with pasturage in the west marsh for forty cows with their young calves. From his successors, William and Amandus, and from other persons, they succeeded in enlarging their property here by gifts, purchases, and exchanges, until they possessed two separate estates, called Hirncroft and Southowcroft (now Frog Hall), each containing about thirty-six acres of enclosed lands, of which at least a part had belonged to Siward. There they had at first their cow-houses, but these were afterwards made into sheepcots in view of the rising demand for wool.

At the end of his life Amandus de Sutton gave or bequeathed to them "whatever he had" in the northern part of the west marsh, between their fish-house and Southowse, and between the river and the meadows of Sepholme. Their account of this transaction, and of their subsequent proceedings, clearly disclosed the plan which they had formed for increasing their property in this quarter. Besides the lord of the manor, the free tenants in Sutton, or some of them, had rights of pasturage over this part of the west marsh in respect of their arable land. The monks hoped that by acquiring all these rights in detail they would become the sole owners, and might enclose this pasture by ditch and bank, and improve it for their own advantage.

Thus they obtained by gift, from Thomas the Clerk,

the brother of Robert de Melsa (Meaux), his right of pasturage in respect of the third part of three oxgangs in Sutton: from his nephew, John de Melsa, they got by an exchange as much pasturage as appertained to ten oxgangs and a half on Sepholme, and from other persons they obtained similar grants. But Sayer, the son of Amandus, had an eye on their method. He was a vigorous and important personage, who for some sixty years held the manor of Sutton, and was always on the watch to improve his property by drainage and in other ways. At one time he was the bailiff of King Henry III, in respect of the port then growing up at the mouth of the river. It was he who turned the course of the Hull, near its mouth, into the present channel, in order to drain his wide-spreading lands in Sutton and the neighbourhood.

He was not likely to permit the monks to create for themselves an estate out of an important part of his family property. Although he is said to have assented at the time, he afterwards refused to confirm his father's death-bed gift, and took prompt and violent measures against the monks. The chronicle does not state the particular occasion of his anger—perhaps they may have relied too much on their sacred character, and attempted to assert their claims by making the desired enclosure. But the old reverence for the Cistercian Order, if he had ever shared it, was now somewhat on the wane, and he treated them as unceremoniously as he might have treated a smuggling crew on his river. With armed men he seized the corn, money, and other effects in their houses, pillaged their sheepfolds, and turned them out of the west marsh. He even assisted at the abstraction of the body of a dead neighbour who had bequeathed it, together with some lands, to their monastery.

There was practically no law for them in England against such a man as this, so they appealed to the Pope, who sent the Abbots of Jervaulx and Easby, with their neighbour the Dean of Richmond, to settle the dispute. In the result the monks got the right to turn out on the marsh forty more cows, besides the forty included in their original grant; but, as this would be largely in consideration of the grazing rights which they had been acquiring

from the aforesaid owners of the ancient ox-gangs, it is not clear that they were much better off than before. The worst of it was that they got no confirmation of the gift or bequest by Amandus of all that he had in the marsh ; and so there was an end, for the time, of their plan for acquiring exclusive possession.

They were always planning with more or less success, always dissatisfied, and never very prosperous. But we must remember that, besides the hospitality which they were bound to keep up, they were engaged during the thirteenth century in the erection of their splendid abbey, which, judging from its scanty remains, must have been an enormously costly building, and was, no doubt, the architectural glory of Holderness.

Sayer de Sutton had schemes of his own for the improvement of his estate. In the time of Abbot Richard of Ottringham, between 1221 and 1235, by an agreement between him and his near neighbours with their tenants in Sutton and the monks, a wide ditch was made, called Forthdyk, extending from the fish-house, by the river, along the north side of the west marsh, and beyond, so as to drain the lands of the several parties. It was also to form a boundary between Sutton and the mother parish of Wawne, the advowson of the chapel of Sutton being granted, in 1297, to Sayer, by Archbishop Walter de Grey. It was also to be used as a canal for haulage by boat, as a place for fishing with nets, and as an adjunct to the pool that was made at Fishouse for working the abbey mills. As some of these uses would interfere with each other, Sayer and his free tenants were allowed to make another ditch, called Suttondyk, in the west marsh, along the side of Forthdyk, with sluices so arranged that when the water of Forthdyk was being used to work the mills, Suttondyk would be available for the traffic by boat. The space between the ditches was to be used as a road to the mills from the highway at Sepholme, where a small hamlet once existed, but is now forgotten. This was really an elaborate engineering project, clear evidence of which is still to be traced upon the ground by ditches and excavations which have hitherto been a puzzle to the few who are familiar with this deserted and lonely spot.

Not long after this amicable arrangement the monks

were again in a serious dispute with the lord of the manor. Sayer's son and heir, Amandus, had grown up and received knighthood, and, in anticipation of his marriage, his father had given him, with other gifts, seven oxgangs and a half of land, but he had entered the convent at Meaux as a novice, bestowing upon the monks the lands which had been given to him for a very different purpose. Sayer was not likely to agree to an arrangement by which his estate would be permanently diminished by more than a hundred acres of ploughland, with its accompanying meadows and rights of pasturage, so, when Amandus died, he disputed the gift. But by the help of William, Earl of Albemarle, the Seigneur of Holderness, the monks kept the lands until, in an evil hour, they seized upon a meadow belonging to Sayer, and in some struggle that ensued one of his sergeants was killed. So he brought them before the King's Justices at York, the family of the dead man also charged them with manslaughter, and to save themselves from worse trouble, they were glad to make a compromise by paying down sixty marks and giving up half the land with some of the other gifts they had received from Amandus.

Soon after 1260, towards the end of the long life of Sayer, the convent seems to have joined in a rebellion of the men of Holderness against Prince Edward, who was acting on behalf of his father, Henry III. When the King's forces were sent to bring them to reason it was at the Abbot's Grange, in Sutton, that the Sheriff of Holderness posted his men, who, for two nights, watched to prevent the passage of the river from Cottingham by the Royal troops. The monks had to feed a hungry host both there and at the Abbey, but, fortunately, they were able to make peace with the King.

They got on rather better with Sayer Junr., who by 1269 had succeeded his father. In his time that part of the west marsh in which the monks had rights was found to be over-stocked, especially when sheep were turned out upon it instead of horned cattle, the proportion being about four hundred sheep for their fixed number of eighty cows. Sayer thereupon—by their account—granted them all that he had in demesne in that pasture, with liberty to enclose it by a ditch running from

Southowscroft to the meadows of Sepholme. Thus they seemed to be within reach of the object of their desires, but, unluckily, there were grazing rights over the marsh belonging to seven oxgangs and fifteen tofts, which rights they had not been able to acquire, so they had to be content with posts driven in along the line of boundary to mark off this portion of the marsh.

The son of Sayer, Junr., was another Sayer of whose short tenure of the manor, lasting only about three years, I am in quest of further details. He was succeeded in 1292 by his son John—the Sir John de Sutton whose mailed effigy adorns the great chantry chapel or chancel of Sutton Church. The chronicle records a dispute with him and Godfrey de Melsa and their respective tenants, about the condition of the outlets of Forthdyk and Suttondyk at the millpool, and a carefully-framed agreement as to the shares the respective parties were to bear in the cost of future repairs.

When, in 1339, Sir John de Sutton, Junr., and Hugh of Leven, the fifteenth Abbot, succeeded to their respective dignities, the posts that had marked off the monks' share of the Westkerre (as the marsh began to be called) had long since disappeared, and the lord of the manor claimed common of pasture therein. After long negotiations the parties, "brought to unanimity", agreed that, amongst other things, Sir John and his tenants should have common there for their sheep, but that the monks should have common for five hundred wethers or sheep in the remaining portion of the Westkerre, and large stones were fixed where the decayed feet of the posts had been found. The nature of this "unanimity" may be inferred from their plaintive comment that the arrangement was "contrary to right", while they had to keep up the river-bank to protect this very land.

The lands reclaimed from the tide in the south-eastern corner of the parish, nearest the Humber, were suited for pasturage, and were called the Salts, which name they still keep. It would take too long to tell how the monks acquired by purchase from Sayer, Senr., and, in various ways, from other persons, the grazing rights in the Salts which had been allotted in respect of the oxgangs of ancient ploughland. The details bring out clearly the mode

of division of the fifteen-acre oxgangs into smaller shares or parts. Thus the thirty long strips of each oxgang could be most conveniently divided into halves, thirds, and sixths, and the third part of half an oxgang would consist of five of these strips or selions, which seems to be the smallest quantity that carried with it a definite share of the meadows and pasturage. Rarely the arable land is dealt with by the single selion, but I suspect that this was not the ancient ploughland, but part of the reclaimed land which had been ploughed out, but which was not wedded to meadow and pasture.

The chronicle also gives some interesting details as to the grazing rights of the monks. To each oxgang of arable land of their own in Sutton, they had pasturage for twenty oxen and eighty sheep, besides the right to dig sixteen cart-loads of turves for fuel; and where sheep only could be kept, five could be substituted for one ox. They seem, indeed, to have substituted sheep for oxen to the utmost extent of their rights, for it is noted that of the twenty oxen which they could keep for each oxgang of arable, two were sufficient for its cultivation. This means, I assume, that two head of horned cattle were sufficient to keep up the stock out of which those actually required for the plough were taken, for the remainder of the oxen are reckoned among the proportionate number of sheep. Besides this they had all the reclaimed lands which they had got from other owners. Thus, in their most prosperous days, when Kingston-upon-Hull, close to one corner of the parish, had been incorporated by Edward I, and was carrying on an enormous export of wool, they had in Sutton eight sheepfolds, in which more than two thousand sheep were kept.

But in the time of Sayer, Junr., the porter of the monastery, who had charge of their grazing in the Salts, not having so many sheep of their own as they were entitled to turn out, took in sheep belonging to strangers for payment, which was a high crime in the eyes of the lord of the manor and the neighbours. Sayer treated it as too serious to be punished by fine; he impounded the strange sheep, collected the agreed payment, and deprived them of most of the rights which they had acquired in the Salts. This very serious loss was inflicted on them

by the help of Isabella, Countess of Albemarle, the widow of the last male heir of that family to which the Abbey had owed its foundation.

So far I have said nothing about that large portion of reclaimed land which was laid out as meadow. Much of it appears to have gone to the lord of the manor; the remainder of it was divided, probably by lot, amongst the free tenants, in proportion to their oxgangs of arable. The several shares in the meadow-land were called "dayles", being the doles or deals that were dealt out to those entitled to them. Each owner would gather the hay from his own dayle, and then the cattle of the whole of the owners, in due proportion, would graze the meadows in common until the following March.

About the year 1225 the monks began by acquiring a selion of arable land in Magnusdayle, and they gradually formed a compact little property of twenty-nine acres by gifts and purchases, chiefly by paying off debts due from the owners to the Jews of York and Lincoln. Selions of arable were intermixed with meadow, which was unusual, and may indicate something like private ownership. At all events, Sayer, Senr., allowed them to enclose this land with ditch and bank. But, with the carelessness which was always getting them into disputes, they neglected to keep up the bank and cleanse the ditches, which became so far obliterated that Sir Thomas de Sutton, the last male of the family, with his free tenants, claimed rights of pasturage over the land. Then they began to clean out the ditches, but these persons forcibly prevented it, and a meeting had to be convened upon the spot, at which the monks produced their charters, and the vestiges of the ditches were examined. At length, as Sir Thomas took their part, they were allowed to complete the enclosure, and under the name of the Oxlands, their little farm is recognisable to this day.

Unfortunately, the chronicle ends soon after this event, but one is glad to find another dispute in which we can entirely sympathise with them, and out of which they came victorious. The bank which they had to maintain in the Westcarr was made a few feet from the channel of the river, so that there was, and still is, a good space of grass, covered only by the highest tides. Brick-

making had by this time been introduced into England, and certain tylers, or brickmakers, of Beverley began coming sliely down the river and stealing the mud and the soil to the peril of the bank. The monks retaliated by many times seizing their oars, and at last by stopping a laden boat at Wawne. Thereupon, the men of Beverley, backed up by the Archbishop, resorted to threats and blasphemy, caught and imprisoned one of the monks, and threatened the Abbot himself. In the end, struck by shame, and some alarm at the expected approach of the King, they released the monk, offered satisfaction, begged for absolution, and "experienced the mercy of the Abbot".

There are several matters of less importance set out in the Chronicle. I hope to print the whole shortly, together with other records of an important character, relating to the mediæval and more recent arrangements of the parish of Sutton. Meanwhile, I have thought that the careful records of the dealings between the monks and the lords of Sutton, which have long been half hidden in the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, need not wait longer for such an identification with the localities to which they relate as is indispensable to a correct appreciation of their significance.



A FEW NOTES ON THE GODS OF BRITAIN.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read at the York Congress, 1891.)

ARCHÆOLOGY tells us in unerring language that the whole of Great Britain was well, if not thickly, populated by various tribes, conveniently, but somewhat broadly, termed Celtic, long before the Romans approached its shores. These tribes cannot have had a common origin, for there are remarkably different peculiarities of race, physical detail, manners and customs, which have been carefully examined and compared by ethnologists and antiquaries, who have stored up a large array of observations and investigations into the relics, whether funereal or domestic, which each race has left behind as it succumbed before the irresistible power of superior discipline, and more consolidated organisation. Of the actual number of these tribes, and of their proper chronological sequence in the history of Great Britain, nothing is actually verified. In one part one custom, in another another, appears to have obtained simultaneously, and even in these late days obscure local observances still maintain, like a faint echo, some semblance, imperfect and difficult of recognition, of the original practices to which they thus point. In one place cremation, at another place interment; in this district sacrifices of blood, in that, the milder dedication of grain, fruits, or personal ornaments found favour with the people. The practice of solitary burial in one district, with or without superjacent tumulation of earth or stones, may be contrasted with the crowded burials found in the sand dunes of another district.

According to an accomplished archæologist, England never seems to have been the home of any race which did not receive ideas of civilisation from its visitors or conquerors. Lord Lytton has conclusively shown that the ancient Britons, to whatever sub-division of that all-embracing appellation they may have belonged, were not ignorant barbarians, in the modern sense of the word

barbarian, at the time of the coming of the Romans. Whether their own peculiar arts and sciences were indigenous, or the result of intercourse with civilized foreigners coming hither at a period anterior to the Romans, can be hardly ascertained, but it is very probable that the native culture was greatly improved and beneficially directed by such intercourse as the metal-seekers could establish with the island populations. But be this as it may, the British skill in agricultural art was considerable. It is known that they were accustomed to the employ of primitive machinery, and the apparatus of the farm, carriages, and waggons, the watermill, possibly the windmill, and a variety of tools and utensils adapted to the simplification and reduction of hard manual labour, were certainly not unknown; and the fact that they built cities and populous towns, bringing many of the arts necessary to this end to a tolerably high pitch of perfection, sufficiently indicates that there was an advanced and still advancing progress of human emollition among them. Roads, streets, public edifices, a monetary system, a code of law, a definite religion, public ceremonies of religion, state and domestic functions, a theoretical sepulture, and many other tangible vestiges, taken as a whole, clearly indicate that the Celtic inhabitants of Britain were well advanced in the practice of a system which was not the creation of a day, but had been long gathering up its details, and might have developed into something parallel with Buddhism or Mohamedanism, if its civil advancement had become more thoroughly crystallised before the irresistible tide of Christianity was poured over the land by the efforts of the Roman missionaries.

Scant notices have been given by the ancient writers respecting the religion of these early races of Britain. Professor Rhys sees no reason to suppose that their religious ideas differed very materially from those of the Gauls and of other Aryan nations. They had a somewhat limited pantheon, and the gods endowed with specific and distinctive attributes were identified by Cæsar, for convenience's sake, with Jupiter, Mars, Minerva, Apollo, and particularly Mercury, to whom they gave the most prominent place. That is to say, at the head of the Celtic pantheon stood some deity whose attributes and pecu-

liarities most nearly approached to those which the Romans had attached to their conception of Mercury. The sea-god Nodens is instanced as having had sufficient importance to have a temple built in his honour at Lydney, on the western bank of the River Severn, during Roman times. Every district had its *genius loci*, every river and every fountain its indwelling deity, to whom invocations were addressed, to whom worship was paid, to whom offerings were presented. This writer sees in the Dee, or Deva, of North Wales, a trace of this in its Welsh name, *Aerren*, the genius of war, and in its oracular prestige, which still lingered on to the twelfth century, of indicating beforehand the event of the frequent wars between the Welsh and English. The name of another river, we are told, marks it out as formerly divine, the Belisama, perhaps the Ribble, from a Gaulish inscription found to be a goddess of Minerva-like attributes. The Brent may be another example. The Wharfe, in Yorkshire, is another instance of this; an altar at Ilkley, dedicated to *Verbeia*, seems to enshrine the name of a tutelary genius.

Druidism was the religion of the non-Celtic inhabitants, and not of the Brythonic race, and Rhys gives a possible division of the ancient men in our island into three religious elements: Brythonic Celts, or Aryan polytheists; non-Celtic Druidists; Goidelic Celts, using a combination of polytheism and Druidism. Of the barbarism of these Celts little need be said. They consisted apparently in nude orgies, human sacrifices for auguries, magic rites and supernatural manifestations, not unlike those which disgrace all, or almost all, the religious practices of uncivilised tribes wherever they may be found on earth, nor, indeed, very far removed, at least in some of their elements, from the repulsive sacrificial phases of ancient Judaism as detailed in the records.

Gradually, upon these characteristics there appears to have grown the practice of philosophy, particularly in Gaul, under the influence of whatever civilisation Marseilles and other outposts of developed intelligence could shed upon these magicians and wise men. Professor Rhys thinks it probable that the Celts found Druidism common to the aborigines from the Baltic to Gibraltar, and that

some of the customs of the pagans of these islands may be found still in observance among their Christian descendants. Tonsure, for example, he considers a Druidic survival.

The learned Professor Emil Hübner, of Berlin, who prepared the *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*, under direction of the Royal Academy of Prussia, for the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, has recorded a great number of names of local deities found on Roman altars and other lapidary inscribed relics in Britain. These are, perhaps, the best evidence of the cults in vogue among the Romans who assisted in the subjugation of the land. They bear evidence of the particular gods, goddesses, heroes, and other divine or quasi-divine personages, whose worship was introduced to the notice of the original inhabitants by their masters and conquerors. These sacred names may be thus tabulated, but they are by no means all Celtic, although they were probably venerated by a wider class than the strictly Roman population.

AESCULAPIUS, *Chester, Lanchester* (co. Durham)

Aeterna Dea, or the goddess Rome

Alatervae matres, *Nether Cramond* (cos. Edinb. and Linlithgow)

Alator, Mars, *Barkway* (Herts)

Ancasta Dea, *Bittern* (Hants)

Andesco, Mercurius Deus (*Colchester*)

Anociticus Deus, *Benwell* (co. Northumb.). This god appears to have the attributes of a garland, a knife, and a pitcher

Antenociticus Deus, *Benwell*. Perhaps another form of the same deity as before

Antoci ... Deus, *Housesteads*. Probably the same as the foregoing

Apollo, *Lincoln, Auchindavy* (between the Clyde and the Forth), *Chester-le-Street* (co. Durham), *Housesteads, Birrens* (near Middleby), *The Corbridge lanx or dish* (co. Northumb.)

Among the special forms of this god are:—

Sol Apollo Anicetus, *Ribchester* (co. Lanc.)

Apollo Clarius

Apollo Grannus, *Musselburgh*

Apollo Maponus, *Hexham*, and Deus Sanctus Apollo Maponus, but doubtful, *Ribchester*

Arciacon Deus, *York*

Armicum Deus, *Carvoran*

Astarte, *Corbridge*

Avernus, the Genius of, *Great Boughton, near Chester*

Barreces, Mars, *Carlisle*

Belatucader, or Belatucadrus, the name of a deity evidently Celtic. He occurs in several localities, *Ellenborough*, and with Deus, *Whellepp Castle*, *Kirkbride*, *Carvoran*, *Castlesteads*, *Burgh-on-Sands* (twice); and with Deus Sanctus, *Plumpton*, near *Penrith*, *Old Carlisle*, and *Scaleby Castle*. From the occurrence of the phrase, "Deus Mars Belatucader", at *Plumpton Wall* or *Old Penrith*, *Carvoran*, *Castlesteads*, and *Netherby*, there is no difficulty in ascertaining that this local deity was a form of the classical Mars

Blatucarus, Deus, may probably be a barbarously written synonym for the preceding god. The title occurs at *Broughton Castle* (Westmoreland)

Bellona, Dea. This goddess occurs on an altar at *Old Carlisle*, near *Wigton*

Braciaca, Deus Mars, near *Bakewell* (co. Derb.)

Brigantia, *Birrens*. This goddess or nymph, apparently connected with *Nike*, or Victory, is represented as a winged female, standing, wearing a turreted helmet with leaves, and carrying in the right hand a spear, in the left a ball or globe. She wears the *tunica talaris* and the *paludamentum*. At her left side is a shield resting on the ground. She is styled "Dea" on an altar found at *Adel*, near *Leeds*, "Dea Nympha" on an inscription found in *Cumberland*, and "Dea Victoria" on another found at *Gretland*, *Yorkshire*

Britannia Sancta; *York*

Campestres Matres, *Nether Cramond*, *Newstead*, *Roxburghshire*, etc.

Camulus, Deus Mars, *Kilsyth*. Evidently a Celtic form of the god of war

Ceres, *Chester*. "Alma Ceres"

Cocidius. This god is of frequent occurrence. His titles are "Magnus Deus", the great god; "Sanctus" and "Deus Sanctus", the holy god; "Genius Præsidii", the genius of the camp; "Mars Cocidius" or "Mars Deus Cocidius"; "Deus Sanctus Mars Cocidius", and "Deus Mars Cocidius Genius Valli", the tutelary genius or protector of the Wall. This last formula occurs on an altar at *Old Wall*, six miles east of *Old Carlisle*. "Deus Silvanus Cocidius", on an altar found at *Housesteads*, is an interesting example of another side to the character of the deity, apparently scarcely in keeping with his martial proclivities

Condates, Deus Mars, *Piers Bridge* (co. *Durham*) occurs with the mystical fylfot emblem. Hübner considers that Mars Condates may have been a tutelary god of the confluence of the river *Tees* with another smaller stream which joined it at this site

The consorts of the invincible god Hercules, *Carlisle*

Contrebis, Deus Sanctus, *Overborough*, near *Lanchester*, and Deus Ialonus Contrebis, *Lanchester*

Cerotiacus, Deus Mars. This local form of Mars is evidently Celtic, *Martlesham* (Suff.)

Deus, *i.e.*, Mithras; "Deus qui vias et semitas commentus est", a god of ways and paths; "Di cultores hujus loci", the tutelary gods of the place, *Risingham*¹

Diana, in the *Corbridge* lanx and elsewhere

Epona, *Auchindavie*, and Dea Epona, *Carvoran*. Apparently a British goddess

Eventus Bonus, Good Fortune, and

Fatum Bonum, Fortuna, Fortuna Redux, with similar terms

Fontes, Nymphae et, *Chester*

Fulgur divum, the lightning shaft of the gods, or the divine lightning, *Matfen* (co. Northumb.)

Genius frequently occurs either alone or with special significations, as Genius Averni, collegii, domini nostri, dominorum nostrorum, praesidii, praetorii, provinciae Britanniae, terrae Britannicae, valli, and so forth

Hammia, or Hammiorum, Dea, near *Thirlwall Castle*. Thought to be Magna Mater or Dea Syria

Harimella, Dea, *Birrens*

Hercules occurs frequently with or without the epithets Deus, Deus invictus; Hercules Magusanus, near *Falkirk*, and Hercules Saegon, a somewhat doubtful inscription at *Ilchester* (co. Somers.), may be local or foreign epithets of the hero

Invictus appears to be used as an epithet of Hercules and of Mithras

Isurium, or Aldborough, has been said to enshrine in its name a reference to the goddess Isis; but I think rather that it refers to the river *Eure*, upon which it stands

Jupiter naturally occurs very frequently, almost always with the epithets of Optimus Maximus. Among the varieties of this god are Jupiter Dolichenus, Jupiter Dolichenus Heliopolitanus, Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Jupiter Tanarus, Jupiter Serapis

Juno occurs on the *Corbridge* lanx

Lamiae, the three, *Benwell*

Manes, Dii. These gods, all-powerful over the departed, occur everywhere throughout Roman Britain. It is doubtful if they were ever represented on the sepulchral slabs which were dedicated to them. The term *secreti Manes* in a poem on a cippus, *York*. The language of this pathetic poem, written by the father of Q. Corellius Fortis in memory of his young daughter Corellia Optata, aged thirteen years, is so beautiful, and appears to shed a ray of hope beyond the grave, that one may almost imagine that he had at least some acquaintance with the dogma of the Christian belief. No excuse, therefore, is needed for introducing it here

"Secreti Manes, qui regna Acherusia Ditis
Incolitis, quos parva petunt post lumina vite

¹ A sculpture of Mithras has been found near the Roman Wall. (Hodgson's *Northumberland*, and Bruce's *Roman Wall*.)

Exiguus cinis et simulacrum corporis umbra,
 Insontis gnate genitor, spe captus iniqua
 Supremum hunc nate miserandus depleo finem."

Marriga, Deus, *Malton* (co. York). An unknown deity, perhaps Celtic

Mars, next to Jupiter, appears to have been mostly favoured by the frequency of his name on inscriptions. He appears alone, or in company with Minerva, Campestres Matres, Hercules, Epona, and Victoria. Among his epithets are Deus, Augustus, Victor, Alator, Barreces, Braciaca, Belatucader, Camulus, Coridius, Corotiacus, Condates, Loncetius, Nodon, and Nudens, Olludius, Rigisamus, and Tontates

Matunus, Deus, *Elsdon*, near *Risingham* (co. Northumb.). An unknown but perhaps Celtic deity

Matres, Deae, a very favourite triad of goddesses, whose *cultus*, not only in Britain, but abroad, has recently been the subject of critical exposition by M. Ihm. They occur with several epithets, and were, no doubt, of foreign importation, but attracted the attention of the natives, perhaps on account of their attributes. Sometimes they appear as Matres Afrae, Italiae, Gallae, with or without the addition of Britanniae; Matres domesticae, Matres omnium Gentium; at others as Matres Transmarinae, or Deae Matres Transmarinae, Matres Viales, and Matronae Viales

Mercury, although reputed to have been an especially favoured god in Britain, is not so frequently found on inscribed remains as would have been inferred. The term Mercurius Sanctus is found at *Netherby*. The so-called Mercury at *Aldborough* (co. York), built up in the outer wall of the Vestry, is obscure, and requires to be verified before we can accept the identification

Minerva, Dea Minerva, Dea Sancta Minerva. This goddess enters into the scene engraved upon the *Corbridge* lanx

Mithras, Mitra, Deus Sanctus Mithra, occasionally occurs. In several inscriptions¹ he is identified with the Sun,—Deus Sol invictus Mitras, or Deus invictus Solis socius, etc.

Mogon, Deus, *Old Penrith*, at *Risingham*, occurs [Deus] Mogon Cadenus, and Hübner appears to doubt the statement of Camden and others that this refers to the Gadeni of Ptolemy. The god also occurs at *Netherby*

Mouns, Deus, *Plumpton-wall*, and Di Mountes, *High Rochester* (co. Staff.), appears to be connected with the foregoing Mogon, particularly as we find Deus Mounus Cad..... on an imperfect inscription at *Risingham*

Nemesis and Nemesis Augusta Sacratissima

Nemetona, *Bath*, probably a goddess of the German tribes

Neptune, alone or in company with Minerva

¹ See also *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxix, p. 372. Seamills, near Bristol.

Nodens, Devos, and Deus Nodon, and Nudens, *Lydney Park*, Gloucestershire. Here, according to authorities, was the *Fanum*, or temple, of the god Nodens, perhaps a form of Neptune

Numen, in the sense of a spirit or godlike essence, frequently occurs

Nymphs, and Nymphs and Fountains

Olludius, Mars, already mentioned under Mars

Parcae, and Matres Parcae

Ricagambeda, Dea, perhaps a tutelary goddess of the Tungri

Riga, and Rigisamus, a form of Mars

Salus, regina

Sanctus, frequently used as an epithet of gods and goddesses, probably the forerunner of the application of the word to the deceased bishops, monks, holy virgins, and other personages connected with the Christian Church

Serapis

Setlocenia, Dea, *Carlisle*

Silvanus Deus, and Deus Sanctus, had also the attributions of Deus Silvanus Cocidius, Silvanus invictus, and Silvanus Pantheus

Sol, applied to Apollo Anicetus, invictus, and Mithras

Sulevae, goddess of *Bath* in the second century, if we may so infer from the style of the lettering of the inscription on the altar. The *Binchester* inscription, referred to these goddesses by Hübner,¹ I am inclined to reject. Sulis, the goddess of *Aquæ Solis*, or *Bath*, is another form of this word. She is equated in three inscriptions with Minerva

Terciana, Dea, *Risingham*

Toutates, Mars, *Castor* and *Barkway* (Herts.)

Vanauntes, Deus, *Walton House*

Verbeia, *Ilkley*, on the River Wharfe, of which probably Verbeia was the tutelary and eponymic goddess

Vetus, Deus, and Deus Sanctus, perhaps Veteris, and in the plural Di Veteres, perhaps the same as Magon, Deus Vitiris, etc., and Deus Viteranas. There appears to have been a cultus of Vitiris at Carvoran.

Victoria, Dea

Vinovia, *Binchester* (Durh.). This goddess evidently gave her name to the locality

Viradesthis, Dea

Virtus

Vulcanos, *Stony Stratford* and *Barkway*, co. Hertford

It would be interesting to know how frequently the effigies of Romano-British deities have been preserved by the builders of the earliest churches in England. There can be no doubt that when the tide of Christianity

¹ No. 1344b.

broke over the land, and the necessity of procuring suitable places for the practice of the new ceremonies with which it was attended, at the least cost and with the smallest amount of change, arose, there must have been in most of the temples and worshipping places of the pagan effigies, statues and sculptures in relief of the local genius, more or less carefully executed. For these some amount of veneration lingered, probably among the older, and therefore less easily converted members of the community, who, while influenced outwardly by the changed opinion of the greater number, were still hankering after a return to the old ways, and actuated in some degree by a desire to preserve some select piece of wreckage from the general upheaval. It is not unlikely that it was in deference to them, perhaps with a desire to propitiate them, that the preachers of the true faith found it not incompatible with the doctrines they had brought with them, to admit, or, at any rate, not to initiate the destruction of, at least the less objectionable of such images as were held in special repute, on the spot, lest irritation deepening into anger, and lukewarmness into opposition, might retard, or even jeopardise, the rapid growth of the foreign seed of faith now being sown broadcast through the land. To those who could, by a word, transform pagan orgies into religious ceremonies and processions, and, in some cases, adopt their church requirements to the sites, if not the very buildings themselves hitherto devoted to heathen worship, it was not difficult to admit a bas-relief or a false god to a place in the church wall, provided it were renamed in honour of a saint whose name could be found in the calendar. To this sentiment it is that we owe the preservation of Romano-British bas-reliefs in some of our churches, such as, for example, that in the Church of St. Peter, at Croft, near Darlington.¹ Here a rudely sculptured human figure, stiffly drawn, nude, hideously repulsive when looked at with nineteenth century eyes, holding the right hand over the head, and resting the left on the hip, still exists, built into the church wall. Some saving glamour clung to this barbaric pick-hewn slab, which was sufficient to preserve it until a time when it might have been

¹ See *Journal*, xliv, p. 247.

destroyed had passed away. It has even survived the iconoclasm of the sixteenth century, notwithstanding the alacrity universally shown in defacing everything carved in human semblance a church contained, and stands now, with its history known only to itself, a silent witness to the passing away of the old order of things.

Just such another rude representation of the human form—another *genius loci*—roughly sculptured with the pick, in low relief, is preserved in the church of St. Peter, at Torksey, Trent, in the angle where the Roman Foss Dyke joins the River Trent, just within the Lincolnshire boundary, a site historically connected with the early conversion of the heathendom of northern England; for here, if tradition does not err, Paulinus, a name justly venerated in this city, baptized his converts in A.D. 630, and here the Danes passed the winter, no doubt to the injury of the Church, in A.D. 873. Whether the sculptured figure now built into an arched niche high up on the southern wall of the nave, near the tower, is a remnant of the early heathen temple, or of the earliest Christian Church, it is difficult to say, but from the style of its execution there can be little doubt of its Romano-British origin.

Other examples of this kind of treatment of heathen sculptures will readily suggest themselves to our readers. The laudable practice of embedding sculptures derived from older buildings in the walls of newly-rising edifices is, perhaps, nowhere better exemplified than at Chichester Cathedral, where two important slabs, carved with subjects from the life of Our Lord, traditionally ascribed to the now perished Cathedral of Selsea, have been let into the outer wall of the choir, and are thus enabled to testify to this day the antiquity of the Christian faith in those parts. The slabs of archaic sculpture let into the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, after the manner of a frieze, may be referred to a similar feeling.

There are many curious points connected with pagan cults which are illustrated by the enactments of successive Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, as disclosed by the collection of ancient laws and institutes of England under the Anglo-Saxon kings, from Æthelberht to Cnut, published in 1840 by the Commissioners on the Public

Records of the kingdom, by the labours of Mr. Benjamin Thorpe, who carefully examined a large number of manuscripts, both in English and foreign libraries, with a view to the collation of all the most important texts of the laws and statutes under consideration.

Among other curious customs is that of the veneration of the elder-tree, which was held in great repute in early times. Thorpe finds that when our forefathers had to lop this tree they generally repeated a prayer, of which the following is the English form: "Lady Elder, give me some of thy wood, then will I give thee also some of mine when it grows in the forest." This was said by the woodman, kneeling, with uncovered head and folded hands. Similarly, he finds that in Hildesheim, when anyone dies in the country, the gravedigger goes in silence to an elder-tree and cuts therefrom a wand, wherewith he measures the dead person's body. The carrier who conveys the corpse to its grave does likewise, and holds this wand in place of the usual whip. Elder planted before the cattle-stall preserved, it was thought, the cattle from magical influences.

The process of drawing children or cattle through the earth, as a means of cure, is also referred to by Thorpe as prevalent both in England and Germany. The earth was hollowed out and the diseased child caused to creep through the passage or tunnel thus formed, and by this act the magic influence under which it was supposed to be labouring was neutralised, or warded off. Women sometimes dug a hole in the ground and thrust in their fractious children, drawing them out by another hole, and thereby seeking a cure for excessive crying. Nurses, in like manner, took the new-born child and thrust it through a hole.

The *invultuacio* was a kind of sorcery or witchcraft, the practisers of which were styled *vultivoli*. Thorpe finds that John of Salisbury describes them as men who imitate the effigies of those whom they desire to influence in wax or clay, or other soft substance. It is to this practice, current in Italy in classical times, that Virgil alludes in the well-known passage:

"Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit,
Uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore."

This practice, perhaps, more than any other, has survived not only into mediæval, but even into post-mediæval and modern times. It would be rash to declare that it has entirely died out in England, for one occasionally reads of superstitious proceedings resembling this (coupled sometimes with the use of pins stuck into the effigy) practised in country places. Thorpe instances the two historical examples of Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, and Slacey, servant to George, Duke of Clarence. There is an older example in the latter half of the tenth century, with its attendant punishment, in the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 1131.

Liblac, witchcraft, particularly that kind which consisted in the preparation and administration of drugs and philtres, was apparently a favourite resort among a certain class of our ancestors, and a large collection of these may be examined in the late Rev. O. Cockayne's *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*. Rhyming charms, meaningless combinations of Greek, Hebrew, and other foreign words, also largely entered into the stock-in-trade of the Anglo-Saxon medicine-man. (See Pettigrew's *Medical Superstitions*, and my *Nunnaminster Codex*, Hants Record Society.)

Amulets, or *ligaturæ*, were bindings of bands or knotted strings employed by way of sorcery, as well as medicine, both here and on the Continent. They came to be looked upon as snares and traps of the "old enemy".

The *juramentum per lapidem*, according to Thorpe, refers to a custom of a very remote age. It only occurs in one instance, and then is thought to be a late interpolation. It may, however, allude to the altar, which was generally formed of stone, and then be equivalent to taking an oath by the stone altar; it being a "christian practice in swearing, derived, no doubt, from their pagan forefathers, to touch the altar or the gravestone of some saint."

Ordeal enters into this category. It was a trial by fire, or by hot or cold water. That by fire was single or three-fold from the weight of the iron. There were special ceremonies and religious observances connected with it. The laws of Æthelstan specify very carefully the method of carrying out the ordeal in the presence of the accused

party and an equal number of men of either side. The hand of the accused, after being plunged into the water, was enveloped till after the third day, and then examined. A heavy fine was inflicted on anyone who contravened the rules under which ordeal was performed.

The foreign ordeal of cold water seems to rest on the notion that the holy element of pure water would receive within it no guilty one; hence the accused, having a cord made fast to his body, was cast into the water, and if he sank he was innocent, if he floated he was guilty.

Divination by means of the fortuitous inspection of a copy of the Gospels or other holy book was a favourite form of sorcery. It seems to have had, under certain conditions and circumstances, the countenance of the Church, for William of Malmesbury records the prognostics which were taken in this way at the consecration of some of the bishops, as in the case of Wlstan, Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 1062; Herbert, Bishop of Thetford; and Lanfranc, A.D. 1070, and several others.

Stacung, a practice of sticking pins or needles into an image of the person against whom sorcery was to be attempted, is thought by Thorpe to have originally consisted in sticking these objects directly and actually into the body of the obnoxious person; "but as this process was, no doubt, sometimes attended with inconvenience and danger to the operator, the easier and safer method was devised of substituting a waxen proxy instead of the true man." It clearly comes down from classical times.

Well, or fountain, worship appears to have been a very general form of superstition among the Germanic nations. Adoration of wells and fountains, either derived from classical channels, or of concurrent use with that of the classical races, lingered long after the introduction of Christianity.

The folk-lore and traditions of the various districts of Great Britain have recently become a distinct branch of antiquarian research. Much of what has been gathered up in this way may be traced, with little difficulty, to religious sources. One of the most recent publications¹ dealing with this subject points out the numerous wells

¹ *Yorkshire Legends and Traditions*, Rev. T. Parkinson.

in Yorkshire dedicated to St. Helen, the mother of Constantine. Their waters bear the reputation of healing weakness of the eyes. Although there is little doubt that this legendary personage was a native of Mœsia, yet, as has been pointed out in *The Athenæum*, the number of churches and wells that bear her name in many parts of England indicate that from an early period she was believed to have been of English birth. Two English sites, Colchester and York, contend with Trèves for the honour due to her birthplace.

Thorpe finds that traces of this superstition subsist to this day in the northern kingdoms, and what was once done in commemoration of Baldur is still practised in honour of St. John the Baptist, at St. Olave. At the mysterious summer solstice wells, baths, plants, and other objects became endowed with supernatural power (according to Professor Finn Magnussen, as quoted by Thorpe) of healing sickness and neutralizing pernicious witchcrafts. Even the introduction of Christianity did not at once result in the abandonment of so ancient and so dearly prized a festival. Here, as in parallel cases, the introducers of the new faith, not desiring to abolish national customs altogether, acted wisely by preferring to transfer heathen practices in honour of an idol or god to the cultus of a saint whose festival happened to fall at or about the same time of the year that brought with it the recurrence of these rites.

From the bloody death of Baldur the change was not a difficult one for the newly converted people to the similarly tragic death of St. John the Baptist. Natural circumstances, such as the eggs of certain insects charged with a red-coloured fluid, which had been associated with the blood of Baldur, were, under the new aspect of religion, transferred to a miraculous vision of the blood of the decapitated saint.

The total extirpation of heathenism forms an important feature in the introduction to the laws of Edward and Guthrum. "This is the first which they ordained ; that they would love one God, and zealously renounce every kind of heathendom... And if anyone violate Christianity, or reverence heathenism, by word or by work, let him pay," etc.

Similarly, the laws¹ of King Ethelred : “ This, then, is first ; that we all love and worship one God, and zealously hold one Christianity, and every heathenship totally cast out.” And “ unanimously² hold one Christianity, and diligently eschew every heathenism,” etc. And again, “ Let³ us zealously venerate right Christianity, and totally despise every heathenism.” King Cnut’s laws are very explicit, and by inference cast a gleam of light upon the superstitions of his day. One of them runs thus : “ We earnestly forbid every heathenism. Heathenism is, that men do worship heathen gods, and the sun or the moon, fire or rivers, water-wells or stones, or forest trees of any kind, or love witchcraft, or promote *morth-work* (compassing one’s death by sorcery) in any wise, or by *blot*, or by *fyrht*, or perform anything pertaining to such illusions.”

Sacrifice to devils was also strictly forbidden as early as in the laws of Wihtræd, at the Council of Berghamstede ; and a little later, if witches, diviners, and magicians be anywhere found within the land, let them then be driven from the country, and the people cleansed ; or let them totally perish within the country, unless they desist, and the more deeply make amends. Cnut’s law even takes the form of a commission of inquiry on this point : “ We command that ye undertake diligently to cleanse the county on every side, and everywhere to desist from evil deeds ; and if witches, or diviners, or *morth-workers*, or adulteresses be anywhere found in the land let them be diligently driven out of this country, or let them totally perish in the country, except they desist and the more thoroughly amend.” The laws of Ethelred, passed at the Council of Enham, Ensham, or Eynesham, near Oxford, had previously ordered that such persons, and other obnoxious ones, “ be diligently driven out of this country, and the people purified,” etc.

The sale of Christians into a heathen land was specially forbidden, as tending to the loss of Christ’s souls.

The *Penitential*, or Ecclesiastical Code of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668-690, prohibits, among other practices connected with pagandom, the following : “ It is not lawful for clerks or laymen to be

¹ V, 1.² VI, 1.³ IX, 1.

magi or enchanter, nor to make phylacteries which become the bonds of their souls."

"If anyone seek the soothsayers, whom they call *divini*, or perform any divinations, because this also is demoniacal, let him be in penance for five years," etc.

"If anyone use lots which they call 'of the saints' unreasonably, or any lots, or, by any kind of evil art, draw lots or make divination, let him," etc.

"If any woman make divinations or diabolical incantations, let her," etc.

"If any woman set her son or her daughter upon the roof (*super tectum*) for healing (of fever), or in a fireplace (furnace), let her be in penance for seven years."

The ancient laws of the Northumbrian priests enjoin that: "If anyone be found that shall henceforth practise any heathenship, either by sacrifice or by *fyrhit*, or in any way love witchcraft, or worship idols, if he be a king's thane let him pay ten half-marks—half to Christ and half to the king," etc. "If there be a *frid gearð* (an enclosure or sanctuary), on anyone's land about a stone, or a tree, or a well, or any folly of such kind, then let him who made it pay," etc.

The survival of Celtic pagan customs and beliefs down to a period long after the settlement of the Christian religion in England, and the partition of the land into comparatively restricted areas under the immediate supervision, more or less carefully performed, of the clerical and monastic system, is well known. Even in the present day we are occasionally reminded of the lingering of customs which have undoubtedly been handed down in wild, deserted, and uncared-for districts from time immemorial, among degraded beings who have either never come under the influence of a civilisation surrounding them, or secretly but completely rejected all the humanising influences about them. The so-called modern wizard, and the witch who deludes the peasants of our shires, have each a prototype in the Druid and the *magus* of the Briton in the days of the Roman occupation. What these practices were in the early Christian times we have already heard something of from the Penitentials of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, A.D. 668-690, and there is a similar work by Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 734-

766, about a hundred years later. There can be no doubt that the special forms of magic and kindred practices which are forbidden in these codes of religious discipline (called Penitentials because of the punishments assigned to each form of departure from morality inculcated by the Christian teaching) were not unknown to, nor unpractised in, previous ages.

The earliest historical notice of the existence of Christianity in England appears to be the occurrence of the names of Bishops of Britain at the Council of Arles, in France, held by Constantine against the Donatists. There is also some weight to be attached to the few and not very important archæological relics of the Roman period which have been from time to time discovered. The sum of these taken together amount, as some will have it, to an indisputable evidence of the knowledge and practice of Christianity to a modified and partial extent among the Roman hosts in Britain.

A recent writer on the evidences of the extent of the ancient British Church has summarised all these ancient objects containing references, by way of symbolism, to Roman Christianity in Britain. It is not a large sum, nor are the individual remains of an imposing character. The late Roman walling of a church or two, as at St. Martin's and St. Pancras, Canterbury; a few small rectangular buildings of unsettled date; a Romano-British spoon, believed by some to have been used for anointing in baptism; and such like fragmentary evidence, is nearly all that can be gleaned; and we are compelled to confess that the meagre list makes little or no impression upon the mind, seeing that Christian evidences of Roman date among us are decidedly deficient both in number, character, and importance.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN DERBYSHIRE.

BY ANDREAS EDWARD COKAYNE.

(Read 6 Jan. 1892.)

DERBYSHIRE, rich in the abundance of remains of the early dwellers in Britain—stone circles, cists, lowes, caves, with their sepulchral remains, is not yet exhausted. From time to time fresh evidences of our very early ancestors, or fore-dwellers, find the light of day, and contribute valuable information about their habits and customs and their surroundings. Lately, many discoveries of great antiquarian interest have come to light in Derbyshire.

First, of the bone-caves. About mid-way between Matlock-Bath and Ashbourne, near an immense hole whence minerals have been and are being got, not far from Brassington Moor, on a long range of hills, and almost on the highest rocky point thereof, has lately been discovered a small cave, the entrance to which was barred by a huge piece of rock, which years ago had fallen in front of the entrance. The cave, which has so long remained unknown, was curiously discovered by the sons of an adjacent farmer, named Rains, who, one day, a couple of years ago, were wandering on the rocky eminences (whence a magnificent and extensive Derbyshire prospect may be enjoyed, including many points of antiquarian interest), and were led by curiosity to peer behind the fallen piece of rock, and took steps to remove it. This cleared the entrance to what proved to be a cave dwelling-place. At first the floor appeared only to be composed of earthy *débris*, with lumps of rock fallen from the roof, but on digging into it were found bones of various sorts, exciting the curiosity of these lads. It is most fortunate that their intelligence prompted them to call attention to their discovery, and hence many valuable relics have been saved. These are now treasured with great care in one of the out-buildings of Mr. Rains' farmhouse adjacent; and the cave has been named Rains' Cave, in honour of the intelligent lads who discovered it, and their parents

who did so much to preserve and develop the results. On the writer visiting it in 1890, there remained a good deal of further digging and exploration to be done.

The Derbyshire Archæological Society took the matter in hand, and guided the exploration. It is only a small cave, but the *débris*, when sifted from the mud, revealed valuable results, which were submitted to and carefully arranged by Professor Boyd Dawkins, of Manchester, who pronounced the various bone-remains to belong as follows:

“ The great urus ; the small Celtic short-horned ox (*Bos longifrons*) ; the horse ; the horned sheep ; the goat ; the long-legged sheep, now only found in the Hebrides ; the red deer ; the roe deer ; the hog ; the dog ; and the rabbit. The skulls of a badger and of a wild-cat were also identified, and probably pertained to animals that had found admission to the cave long after man had ceased to inhabit it. A variety of human bones and other proofs of the occupation of man, such as charcoal, broken pottery, a spindle wheel, gnawed bones, etc., were at the same time cursorily examined.” This reliable report of Professor Dawkins was communicated to Dr. Charles Cox, and embodied in a paper read by Mr. John Ward, at a Derbyshire Archæological meeting.

Besides these remains, a large lot of fragments, fibulæ, etc., Roman urns (broken) and other fragments of pottery, as well as fragments of flint utensils, etc., are preserved by Mr. Rains at his farmhouse. All these may surely be classed as “ pre-historic”. The range of hills in which the cave is situated is known as Longcliffe. Further exploration will in all probability reveal further and perhaps much more interesting results. If any such turn up, the writer will duly report. It is very remarkable that so very old a cave, once inhabited, if not continuously, anyway, occasionally, by human beings, should so long have remained in obscurity. Of course, this carries us back thousands of years ; the very face and formation of the landscape must have materially—very materially—altered since this cave was “ inhabited”. It may be well to give some idea of the (present) height of the cave, which, notwithstanding the excavations made up to now, has apparently a flow of muddy *débris*, by stating that the writer (who happens, however, to be six feet high),

cannot stand upright therein "without his hat". But it is too low for a man of ordinary height.

Mr. John Ward of Derby has also done some digging in mounds in the same district, near Wirksworth, when human remains, British or pre-Roman, and Roman pottery were discovered.

The pottery found in Rains' Cave is thus described by Mr. Ward in *The Reliquary*: "Fragments of four vessels were found. Of these a few fragments belonged to a thick, blackish, and hand-made vessel of unknown shape, and ornamented with parallel impressions of a twisted rush or thong. The paste is coarse and friable, and has all the characteristics of the hand-made, imperfectly-fired, sepulchral pottery of the pre-Saxon barrow. There were also two small fragments of another blackish vessel, of fine paste and smaller size. It seemed to have had a contracted neck, and the swell of the body had several slight projections, neck plain, but the body had a lattice-work of burnished lines, recalling the ornamentation of some of the Roman black ware, but, unlike the latter, the fragments have the friability of the so-called Celtic ware.

"Pleistocene deposits are found only a foot or two deep. We have sunk eight or nine feet at Rains' Cave, and are still in the pre-historic (or post-Pleistocene) deposits. There was an interesting *bone* and *ash* deposit of about 7 ins. thick, well packed with bones (ox, sheep, pig, dog, man, etc.), charcoal in thin bands, potsherds of ordinary Bronze-age, barrow type, flint fragments, some worked, (scrapers, saw, etc.)." In the vicinity of this cave is a small Roman site having well-marked foundations, sheltered on the north by Rains' Tor.

A somewhat similar cave, first discovered in 1884, has lately been found to contain the remains of animals and of pottery. Situated at a short distance from Buxton, between that place and Chelmorton, is the narrow cleft of rocks known as Deepdale, where is the cave to which allusion is now made, as well as several others. As in the former instance, some of these remains have been submitted to that great authority in such matters, Professor Boyd Dawkins, and he pronounced them to be bones of the red deer, with antlers; of the sheep or goat; of the *Bos longifrons*; of the fox; hare; and some large

bird ; and a large skull of the *Ursus Arctos* ; besides a spearhead, fibulæ, and fragments of pottery, Roman and foreign Samian. "It is not a little remarkable to hold in one's hand this tiny collection of potsherds, weighing in all not eleven ounces, gathered almost at haphazard from the clay on the floor of a little limestone cave in an out-of-the-way Derbyshire glen, and to know that this handful of fragments has been brought there from countries and places, hundreds, nay, perhaps thousands of miles apart from each other, and there deposited and used by people, the most ancient of whom may have been there very many centuries before Christ." So writes Dr. Cox in the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* (vol. xii), and whose report from Professor Dawkins is also above quoted. In the following year's *Journal* of the provincial Association are illustrated some of the fibulæ, where also is recorded the find in this cave of two Roman coins, one of Victorinus the elder, A.D. 268, and Gallienus, A.D. 260.

In 1889 this cave was explored by a Buxton gentleman, Mr. Millet, who related the results to a meeting of the Buxton Church Improvement Society, in the course of which he said :

"The cave stands up in a limestone cliff, which is 160 ft. high, into which it runs in a horizontal direction, consisting of two chambers. The first one is 93 ft. long, from 6 ft. to 18 ft. high, and from 6 ft. to 14 ft. wide. In this chamber, and near the entrance, there are large patches of black clay, where fires have been lighted. In these places I have found large pieces of flat sandstone that had evidently been burnt and were used as bakestones, along with hand-made pottery and iron ore (early Neolithic). At the farther end of the chamber I discovered the gnawed bones of the horse, sheep, goat, red deer, and pig. Mr. Salt found a Roman water-bottle at a depth of three feet. In the second chamber my father and I found in the Roman stratum two bone pins, pieces of bronze, armlets, a bronze ring, iron handles of swords, pieces of burnt wood and coal, pieces of Samian ware, pseudo-Samian, and about twelve different kinds of Romano-British pottery. Bones belonging to the horse, sheep, goat, pig, red deer, and stag, more or less burnt, were also found. Mr. Salt discovered a round bronze fibula and portion of hand-shaped fibula, a piece of a bracelet, a perforated piece of bone which was used in weaving, and pieces of Samian and Romano-British pottery. The Roman stratum is composed of dark earth, mixed with angular pieces of limestone, and in some places large blocks have dropped from the ceiling. It is about 3 ft. in thickness. In the stratum below this, which is composed of thin layers of stalagmite, limestone, and gravel—and I find it is from 6 ins. to 18 ins. in thickness—I found the bones belonging to the sheep and goat and the lower jaw of man. On the under part of the jaw are two cuts. I took it to Professor Boyd

Dawkins, along with other things, and he said the person must have been wounded. The specimen dates back to the Neolithic age; it is rather small, and belongs to the round-skull people—very likely that of a woman. In the stratum below this, which is composed of stiff yellow clay and large pieces of limestone, we found the antler of a stag. Professor Boyd Dawkins says that it must have belonged to an immense stag, much larger than any now in existence. Further we found two pebbles which have been used as hammers. One has been carried there from Axe Edge, and the other from some foreign part. They were found at a depth of about 8 ft., and are probably Palæolithic bones belonging to the horse, wolf, Irish elk, wild boar, and stag. At the further end of this chamber there is a hole in the stalagmite floor, which was made by Dr. Bennett, and which I afterwards enlarged in order to get through. Dr. Bennett found the vertebræ of a bear underneath this spot and gave it to me. After getting through this hole there is about six feet of a drop, and you find yourself in another chamber, which is 17 ft. long, 3 to 5 ft. wide, and 6 ft. high. In the floor I found an arrow-point of slate. Mr. Fitzpatrick, member of the British Association, and librarian at Liverpool, says it must have been carried from Wales. It is probably Palæolithic, as it is unpolished, and all the Neolithic instruments were polished. After crawling over or under a large block of limestone which is about ten tons in weight. I came to another chamber in the far-end corner. Here is a crevice between two large blocks which let me down into another; but in the same chamber, and on the right-hand side, there is a passage which rises a little. After crawling under and over blocks of stone, I found the skull of a Celtic shorthorn (*Bos longifrons*); the antler of a stag, which was $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in circumference, but has since crumbled to dust; the tibia bone of a bear; the skull of a fox; and a bone awl, or spear-point of bone, which has been rudely made, and belongs to the early Neolithic age. At the end of this passage I crawled through a small hole which brought me into the same chamber, where there is another drop. This chamber is 49 ft. long. Then there is a drop about 12 ft. The floor goes on a level about 25 ft., and then twines up a passage, where, in wet weather, there is a small stream. I found the skull of a bear (*Ursus Arctos*) in a piece of stalagmite, 6 ins. in thickness. The ceiling of this passage is the floor of the second chamber, but must be at least 15 ft. thick. After pulling a lot of earth and stones from the ceiling, I found a large piece of hand-made pottery, the rim round which has been made by punching it all round. I also found the skeleton of a goat complete, but in getting the different parts down they broke. I find that this passage leads to the chamber where I found the *Bos longifrons*, etc., or the fourth chamber, the former being the sixth. After finding my way down the passage again I commenced digging in the floor, which soon gave way and made a large hole. It was full of water at the time, but when I went again the following week I found that it was empty. I went down and found another chamber, about 13 ft. square, with water in one corner. I went the following week, and found the water had disappeared, and could see another long chamber below this, but was unable to get through, as the hole was so small. This was the eighth chamber. In the seventh chamber I found the remains of a bird and a hare. It is at least 35 or 40 ft. below the entrance, and I think there is another way into the bottom chamber, but it is blocked up."

On the hills and moors of Derbyshire are frequently being unearthed the remains of our far-off residential ancestors, in relics of their bodies and bones, and of their utensils, and of contemporary animals, and this notwithstanding all that has been discovered by "that arch-digger", the late Mr. Bateman of Lomberdale, and his lieutenant, the industrious antiquary, Llewellyn Jewitt, in the numerous tumuli, cists, dolmens, menhirs, etc., etc. Only lately, in Haddon Fields, on high ground between Over Haddon and Bakewell, and overlooking the charming valley of the Lathkil, some workmen disturbed a barrow containing sepulchral remains. The slabs of the cist were smashed, and the skulls and portions of the human skeleton also partially destroyed, the portions being conveyed to the local surgeon, Dr. Greenhough of Youlgreave, adjacent. "The corpse had been laid on its right side, with the head to the west, in a contracted attitude, but instead of the knees being brought up towards the chest, as is usually the case in such burials, it took the Oriental attitude of sitting upon its feet, the feet being in a straight line with the body. The exact position of the arms and hands is uncertain. The skeleton lay upon a bed of chert fragments (there is a chert quarry on Bakewell Moor), with a few pieces of limestone and sandstone, which showed signs of the action of fire."

Such is the report given by those fortunate enough to see it the day after the discovery, and related, with illustrations of the skulls, by Mr. Ward, a member of our Derbyshire Association, in their *Journal* (vol. x). There were also found fragments of a quern, bones of animals, but no pottery.

At Haddon Hall there is the lower stone of a quern, long used as a receptacle of a water down-spout, and covered with moss and earth, and easily recognised: this has just been removed within the Hall for better custody.

When the foundations of the Town Hall at Bakewell (completed last year) were being dug out, a few coins of Charles II were found, the upper stone of a quern (now in the writer's possession, he being luckily on the spot when the workman's pick struck it, but without injury), and a bronze ring, large enough to be a thumb ring, were discovered. The ring bears a coronet and the letter V.

The site of the new buildings is on the Haddon Hall (Vernon) estate. The workmen sold the ring to a local jeweller. The writer produces a very clear impression of it. Very old houses, probably sixteenth century, occupied the site, the walls being immensely thick, the interior of which were filled with rubble, and very little mortar had been used.

Just lately the writer saw, in a cottage garden at Bakewell, a small vessel shaped like a miniature font. It was serving the purpose of a flower-pot. I immediately secured it. It is a mediæval stone mortar, 9 ins. high, 11 ins. in diameter, and the walls of the bowl are $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. Rev. Charles Kerry tells me there is a remarkably fine one at Breadsal, decorated with a boat-keel; "another, like mine," he says, "was found in the grounds of the site of the old Priory of St. Bees, Cumberland. Wheat was much used, in a brayed condition, by our 'frumenty' loving forefathers, and these were the vessels used for its preparation."

On Stanton Moor, near Bakewell, noted for the stone circle, which is now happily included in the National Ancient Monuments, some labourers, while quarrying, lately found a cinerary urn, which it is almost needless to say was broken by the finders before they knew what it was or its value. Its contents were burnt bones, and a quaint jar or cup, the upper walls of which are open; it is believed to be an incense-cup. The urn has been described by Mr. John Ward, of Derby, as being 14 ins. high and 10 ins. across, and the jar or cup as being of finer clay, measuring 2 ins. high, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in diameter at the mouth, and very narrow at the base. Another urn and cup were also discovered a few weeks later, in the same locality, but these were hopelessly broken. This cup was slightly larger than the former one.

At Cliffe Hulme College, a mile or two past Baslow, on the road to Stony Middleton, in 1888, labourers, while sinking for water, were attracted by the odd shapes of fragments of stone into which their picks had been driven, and broken them up in the gritstone in the process of boring. They had, in fact, unfortunately broken up into pieces a large number of animal remains, with which this gritstone, for 11 ft. deep, is packed—huge birds, the

wings and claws of one of which, like an eagle, are very plainly to be seen, as well as antediluvian animals. There are no traces of human remains, as, in fact, we could not expect to find any. By the courtesy of Mr. Rattray, Principal of the College (a missionary Nonconformist college), the writer was able to make a careful examination of them, which, to his extreme regret, had been so unwittingly mutilated. The college stands on a high eminence beside the main road, and this rock is behind the house.

The old church of Chapel-en-le-Frith, near Buxton, is in the most dilapidated condition, and demands restoration or rebuilding. On these two words hang much controversy. Antiquarian opinion leads to restoration, parishioners' to rebuilding. Some money has been left, with discretionary power, towards this church work. The somewhat ambiguous word "repairs" is, however, used in the legacy. The writer went to examine the church, the chancel of which is *the* point of division of opinion. Nothing can well be worse than its present state, and the desecration by additions and alterations of later years; but the chancel should *not* be pulled down. There are points of architecture which should not be destroyed, even to be reproduced; the antiquity will be gone. The chief reason given against us is that the walls are insecure; but it appears to the writer that the roof, or, rather, ceiling, is *the* insecure part, and as that must be removed—for it is a flat, plastered affair—a good deal of the difficulty ends. The chancel, in fact, is the only remaining part of the original church, except some features in the interior, the remaining portion being rebuilt in the worst period of church architecture, the incongruity of which is apparent. "The chancel", writes Dr. Cox, in his *Derbyshire Churches*, "which has an embattled parapet and a single gargoye on the south side, is lighted at the east end by a pointed Decorated window (*circa* 1350) of three principal lights, with interlaced tracery. There is also a three-light square-headed window of the Perpendicular period on each side of the chancel, the lower part of the one on the south side being cut away for a doorway. On the north side of the chancel is a protruding vestry of exceptional ugliness.

[This is what the writer has already alluded to as being almost a desecration—it has a huge domestic outhouse chimney.] At the east end of the north aisle is a three-light pointed window, also of the Perpendicular period, but the remainder of the exterior is of the Georgian mixture.” The interior shows distinct marks of the fourteenth century architecture. On one’s way to view the church, one is struck at the very entrance of the churchyard by a large stone coffin by the gate-post on top of the wall, placed as a coping.

This church has historic interest. In the parish registers (quoted by Dr. Cox) is the following record: “1648, September 11. There came to this town of Scots army led by the Duke of Hambleton, and squandered by Colonell Lord Cromwell, sent hither prisoners from Stopford, under the conduct of Marshall Edward Matthews, said to be 1,500 in number, put into ye church Sept. 14. They went away Sept. 30 following. There were buried of them before the rest went away 44 persons, and more buried Oct. 2, who were not able to march, and the same yt died by the way before they came to Cheshire 10 and more.” Another entry later in the year speaks volumes for the then condition of things: “1648 Nov. Noe Minster, noe churchwardens!”

The plain octagon font is probably of fifteenth century date. The original piscina is now plastered up.

The fine parish church of Ilkeston, situated as it is on the highest ground in the town, is remarkable in many ways. Like many other old churches it has suffered from so-called restoration in the worst period of church architecture. First, on entering the building, one is struck with the absence of any stained or heraldic glass in so old a church. The present vicar has recovered some dozen or so quarries of fourteenth century date, which are in some respects remarkable. They are small squares of clouded glass with a cross thereon. These, along with the record of some heraldic glass, go to show that the windows were once filled with stained glass, or, at all events, some of them. The base of the old font is in the church, from which the modern font has been designed. It has been restored to the church by the present vicar, the Rev. E. Muirhead Evans, who is very much the

"right man in the right place", and cares for his fine old church and for its careful preservation. This fragment of the old Early English font was discovered in the Vicarage gardens, where lately a very good brass plate was also found in a heap of rubbish, having disappeared from the chancel in 1831. It is to the memory of Mr. Benjamin Day, late of Arnold, in co. Nottingham, who died in 1760, *æt.* 94. Mr. Evans has had this tablet restored to the church. The writer does not know another church wherein he can more comfortably listen to a long, prosy sermon (such as the curates used to preach in his time). The architecture is admirable. Like a thing of beauty, it is a joy for ever. The style and decoration of the arches are studies, while the almost unique stone chancel-screen is delightful to look upon. The arches dividing the exceptionally large Lady Chapel, or north aisle, are very beautiful.

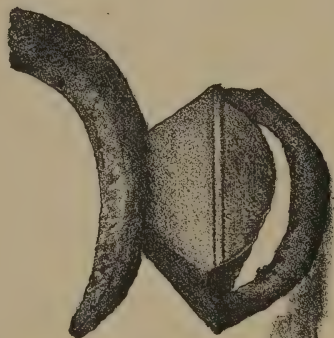
When the restoration of the chapel was commenced (very lately), upon the removal of the old seats two very interesting tombstones, or slabs, were discovered, belonging to the Flamstead family. It is sad to have to record, on the authority of the present vicar, that "a great many monumental stones and brasses were in existence about the year 1831, but what became of most of them is now unknown." The two most remarkable "finds", the monuments of the Flamsteads, are in very good preservation. This goes to show how careless, fifty years ago, was the work of so-called "restoration". The larger Flamstead slab is of slate, about 7 ft. by 3 ft., having a moulded border, and bearing upon its upper portion a coat of arms and crest in relief. The arms are, on an oval-shaped shield, *or*, three bars *sa.*; on a chief *sa.* a lion passant *or*. The crest: A dog's head erased *arg.* charged with two bars, and the ears *or*. The inscription: "Here lyeth the body of John Flamstead, of Little Hallam, gentleman, who dyed December ye 15th, 1745, aged 72 years." The smaller one is a stone slab, about 2 ft. 6 ins. by 2 ft., having in the centre a small brass shield, with the inscription: "Here lyeth the body of Templer Flamstead, son of John and Ann Flamstead, who was born October 22, 1712, and departed this life April 6, 1713."

I am indebted to my friend the Vicar of Ilkeston for the foregoing information as to the stones and brasses, etc., discovered by him, as well as for the following notes about a monumental slab, which it is well to refer to here. All the brasses have gone from the stone ; only the matrices remain. In fact, every vestige of antiquity seems to have been removed from Ilkeston Church which it was possible to clear away. The nave and chancel-arches and stone chancel-screen remain, but even the outer walls (north and south) have been rebuilt as well as the tower. "Of the altar tomb", writes the Vicar, "which formerly occupied the site near to where the Cantilupe tomb now stands, the top slab, about 9 ft. by 4 ft., bearing the engraved matrices which once contained the fine brass effigy of 'a clergyman in his habit', has been lying in the churchyard since 1885. Mr. Walker, the architect, at the restoration (so called) in that year, attributed to this tomb a date anterior to that of the chancel itself. If that be so, in all probability it was removed from the nave at the time the chancel was built. However that may be, the fact that such an ancient altar tomb should have been utterly discarded, even though it was in a dilapidated condition, seems incredible."

In 1852, when Sir Stephen Glynne was at the church, he describes this tomb as being at the north side of the altar, having, besides the upper slab of Purbeck marble, from which the brasses have been removed, sides of alabaster with "pierced arches, which are trefoiled and hollow within. There are three arches on the sides and two at the ends." There were also seventeenth century brasses, which were swept away in 1855.

During the recent work of the Great Northern Railway, in their extension from Heanor to Ilkeston, some men employed on the line discovered an unglazed earthen jar, full of Roman coins. It was found on the Shipley estate of Mr. Miller Mundy, whose agent, Mr. Smith, possesses the relics of the vessel, which was hopelessly smashed. The workmen, not knowing the value of the vessel and its contents, the latter were quickly disseminated. Some of them passed into the hands of the Vicar of Ilkeston, who gives the writer the following particulars about

them. The earthen vessel, it should be stated, was found only a foot below the surface : Victorinus, A.D. 265-267 ; Tetricus II, A.D. 273 ; Postumus, A.D. 258-267 ; Tetricus I, A.D. 268-273 ; Gallienus, A.D. 253-268 ; Claudius II, A.D. 268-270 ; Constantine the Great, A.D. 306-337. Another lot is now in the possession of another friend of the writer's, Mr. William Fletcher of Ilkeston. They are thirty-seven in number.



FRAGMENT OF BRONZE BELL.



BRONZE FIBULA.



POTTER'S IMPLEMENT.

ROMAN REMAINS FOUND IN DONCASTER (Exact Size).

ROMAN REMAINS FOUND IN DONCASTER.

BY F. R. FAIRBANK, M.D., F.S.A.

(*Read 2 March 1892.*)

EVIDENCES of the Roman occupation of Danum, or Doncaster, have on many occasions been found during excavations. They have consisted chiefly of pottery, with some coins, and an altar now in the museum at York. It is my present purpose to call attention to various objects of interest found during excavations made in High Street, in the year 1885, for the new buildings of "The Yorkshire Bank". The objects are of the usual character, but there are some points about them which appear worthy of attention. They are as follows:—

1. Fragment of a mortarium, with potter's mark.
2. Fragment of a bowl with a deep rim; the base shows the grain of the wood of the wheel on which it was turned.
3. Pedestal of a vase, or "standing cup", with a frill ornament round the base. This fragment shows that the bowl was made separately, and fixed on to the pedestal while the clay was moist. The junction was imperfect, for the two portions have parted company. There are specimens of vases similar to this in the British Museum.
4. Two fragments of a patera of Samian ware, with the lotus leaf pattern on the brim.
5. Fragment of a patera of Samian ware, with the potter's mark in the centre, MARCELLI. M.
6. Fragment of patera of Samian ware, originally $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, bearing potter's mark, SENIIA.
7. Fragment of Samian bowl, highly ornamented on the outside.
8. Fragment of a bowl of red ware of a very inferior quality. The bowl was 6 ins. in diameter and $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high. It somewhat resembles Samian ware in colour, but it was probably a local imitation. There is a hunting

scene represented on the outside, and there is a rough resemblance to the higher class ware.

9. A bronze fibula. When found the pin was perfect ; it has since unfortunately been broken. See fig.

10. A fragment of a quadrangular bronze bell. The ring for the clapper is perfect ; outside, a portion of a circular ring handle remains. See fig.

11. A potter's implement of bone. See fig.

12. Fragments of bowls of black ware, exhibiting on the outside the ornament known as "the frilled pattern". This ornament is peculiar in appearance, and is believed to have been produced by laying on a very thin layer of clay and pinching it up between the fingers. Fragments only of this ware were found during these excavations, but a few years previously a perfect little vase was found during some excavations on the west side of Hall Gate. This is, I believe, the first time that ware exhibiting this particular pattern has been found away from York. It is believed to have been made at Eboracum.

A considerable number of fragments of other kinds of earthenware, grey, yellow, and pink, also were found, but they were of a less interesting character. A heap of red clay, apparently ready for use, was also found ; it was unlike anything occurring naturally in the neighbourhood. There were also remains of an open fire. The excavations were of a limited character.

ON THE

DISCOVERY OF A PRE-NORMAN CLERESTORY
WINDOW AT OXFORD.

BY J. PARK HARRISON, ESQ., M.A.

(Read 17 Feb. 1892.)

THOSE members of the British Archæological Association who attended the Congress at Oxford in 1890 will remember that the Dean, after he had described the alterations and improvements that had been effected in the Cathedral twenty years before, under the superintendence of Sir Gilbert Scott, called upon the writer to point out the structural and other evidence which he relied on as showing that there was much of the church, which history informs us had been restored and amplified by Ethelred II in 1004, still existent. So far as time allowed, attention was directed to the points referred to, and more particularly to the design, and evidently worn condition of some of the capitals in the choir, as contrasted with those in the nave, as well as to the remarkable thickness of the abaci of the choir capitals. Shortly afterwards, on further evidence being obtained, the facts were embodied in a lecture which was delivered in the Chapter House, and subsequently published with an appendix. It was shown that some of the capitals in the choir closely resembled ornaments in illustrated MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries; and the sections of bases, those in miniatures of same date. Dealing mainly with contemporary work in Normandy, in which Eastern influence was plainly seen and generally admitted, it was shown to be due to the revival of the Byzantine style, by Duke Richard the Second, whose fame as a church builder, if we may trust the records of Fontanelle and Fécamp Abbeys, had reached the East, and induced bishops and abbots from Syria and the Holy Land to visit him.

In the south transept a very early base of an altogether different profile from the Norman ones had been noticed adjoining the last column at the south-east end, and there

seemed every reason to believe that it belonged to a pre-Norman church. There were also ashlar stones tooled in a manner that was not Norman. But further examination of the south transept had to be postponed until the systematic exploration of the choir was completed.

Already it had been ascertained, by breaking through the boarding which had been erected to keep out draughts from the quasi-triforium in the choir, that considerable alterations had been made there, probably in the time of Prior Robert de Cricklade, all the capitals and bases resembling work attributed to him, but perhaps of slightly earlier date. They were finished with the spur, or foot ornament, and some of the arch stones bore Norman masons' marks.

Though there was a Saxon look about the design of the triforium, which showed that earlier work had been copied, it was evident that the date of the stonework was Norman.

In September last, on an exceptionally bright day, it was seen that the bases of the shafts of the so-called triforium in the centre opening, on the west side of the south transept, were totally different from those in the presbytery attributed to Prior Robert, whilst corresponding in their shallow mouldings with the one already alluded to in the south-east corner of the transept, and also with the later Roman or Romano-British bases found at Silchester and elsewhere. A ladder of sufficient length having been procured, profiles of the mouldings were kindly made by Mr. Drinkwater, M.R.I.B.A., copies of which were exhibited. In December, having in the interval found from a report of the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Oxford in 1840 that Professor Willis had pronounced the choir-triforium to be of Norman design, because he found no grooves for glass in the shafts, a ladder was again procured, and a close examination made of the shafts and small arches to see if there were any traces left of grooving, when it was found that both centre and side-shafts, and also the soffits of the arches, had once had grooves; but they were neatly stopped with mortar of much the same colour as the stone, and so had previously escaped notice. This, it appeared, was done during the repairs of 1870, when the whitewash

was removed from the stonework. Also the capitals and bases were pieced, at the same time, precisely in the line of the grooves.¹ The choir-triforium has scarcely any pretence to be called so, and there is no means of access to it save by a ladder. In the rest of the church there is not any ambulatory nor even passage.

The design of the building is clearly derived from the original pre-Norman church, and so justifies the title of the lecture at Oxford, viz., "The Pre-Norman Date of the Design and some of the Stone-work at Oxford Cathedral." The uniformity of plan throughout the church affords a remarkable instance of the way in which early church-builders imitated previous work, the process being, at Oxford, slow enough to make stages in the construction, that must have occupied, instead of thirty years, as stated in the explanatory cards suspended in the cathedral, and quoted in some of the guide books, at least 160. There are three changes in the profiles of the bases, and three in the abaci, all before the years 1170 or 1180.

As regards the very difficult question whether the lower arches throughout the church existed before the upper ones, opinions will probably continue to differ, but the discovery of what may be termed a dated example of a pre-Norman clerestory window will perhaps assist in its solution; and the quality and colour of the stone in the columns appears to be different above the line of the lower capitals.

¹ It was only on a second inspection that the capitals were found to be pieced.

NOTES ON THE YORK CORPORATION INSIGNIA.

BY G. MACGUIRE, ESQ., TOWN CLERK OF YORK.

I.—OFFICIAL INSIGNIA.—THE MACE.

THE mace in use to-day dates back to the year 1647. Portions of the materials composing it formed part of an earlier mace used by the Corporation. It is nearly 4 ft. in length, the staff or stem being about 2 ft. 9 ins. long, and is represented to have contained 192 oz. of silver, and, after deducting the sum allowed as the value of the old mace, to have cost the sum of £81 12s.

The staff or stem has an elegant termination of the lower extremity, and a central band, decorated with the following heraldic devices in low relief:—

(1) A shield of the city arms; (2) a shield bearing the arms of St. George; (3) a crowned lion upon a *chapeau d'honneur*: the crest of Queen Elizabeth; (4) the Tudor rose, ensigned by a royal crown; the badge of Queen Elizabeth; (5) a portcullis ensigned by a prince's coronet (the portcullis is the badge of the House of Beaufort); (6) a plume of three ostrich feathers, enfiled with, or passing through, a prince's coronet (the badge of the Prince of Wales).

The head of the mace is decorated with symbolical figures, executed in low relief within oval compartments, representing Charity, Fortitude, Faith, and Justice, accompanied by their usual emblems. Between the ovals are two Tudor roses.

The imperial crown, of bold design, forms the summit, and within the circle of the crown is engraved a shield of the royal arms, as borne by the House of Stuart after the union of the two kingdoms. The initials and numerals, C. II. R., show the achievement to be that of King Charles II, upon whose restoration to the throne this part of the work was executed.

As originally manufactured in 1647, the mace bore engraved on the top of its bowl the armorial bearings of

the Commonwealth, but, by order of the Corporation, dated the 9th May 1660, the King's arms were substituted.

II.—STATE SWORDS.

Drake (*Eboracum*, p. 222) has the following reference to the city swords: "There are likewise belonging to the Lord Mayor, during his office, *four* swords.

"The first of the swords, and the largest, was the gift of the Emperor Sigismund, father-in-law to King Richard II. It is seldom borne but on Christmas Day and St. Maurice. Another, given by King Richard II from his own side, whence the title of lord accrued to our chief magistrate. This is the least sword amongst them, but the greatest in value, for the reason given above. A third is that of Sir Martin Bowes, Lord Mayor of London, which is the most beautiful, and is borne every Sunday and other principal days before the Lord Mayor. The fourth was usually made use of on every occasion when the Lord Mayor went abroad or stirred from home."

The first and third of the swords referred to by Drake are now in possession of the Corporation. The other two have disappeared.

The first of the swords used by a lord mayor was that given by King Richard II. Drake (*Eboracum*, p. 181) gives 1389 as the date of the presentation, but Davies has ventured to correct the old historian, and shown cause for fixing the date in the latter half of the year 1388. A sword-bearer ("Servientem ad portandum gladium coram Majore") was appointed by the Corporation on the 3rd February 1389.

In 1396 King Richard II granted the city a charter in which reference is made to the sword given by him to the citizens. The same charter constituted the city a county of itself, and authorised the appointment of two sheriffs. This sword, so the charter provided, or any other sword the Lord Mayor pleased, was to be borne before the Lord Mayor with the point erected, except in the presence of the sovereign and his heirs, within the limits of the city *in perpetuum*.

SIGISMUND'S SWORD.

The presentation of this sword to the Corporation, on the 5th of May 1439, is recorded in the archives of the Corporation. The following extracts are taken from Davies's translation of the contemporary record :

"In the year of Our Lord 1421, and in the eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, it happened that the most Christian Prince Sigismund, by Divine permission Emperor of Germany and King of the Romans, came into England, and was forthwith constituted a Knight and Brother of the military Order founded in the Royal Chapel of St. George at Windsor, where all the Knights of the same Order, upon their reception, offer their swords to be there suspended during the life of the offerer ; upon whose decease such swords are at the disposal of the Deans of the same Chapel for the time being, according to the custom of the Chapel hitherto observed : and the aforesaid Emperor being now dead, the sword by him offered in the said Chapel, the Dean of the same Chapel presented to that discreet person, Master Henry Hanslap, Canon of the same Chapel, and Prebendary of the Prebend of Skipwith, in the Collegiate Church of Howden, and Rector of the Church of Middleton, near Pickering, and not far from the city of York, whence he sprang, as it pleased him to say.

"Therefore the aforesaid Master Henry, preferring in his mind, as a man of much gratitude, to distinguish his own country by such a gift, on the 5th day of May in the year of Our Lord 1439, and in the 17th year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, came to the city of York, as the chief place of all the North, and the same sword, formerly of the aforesaid Emperor, covered with ruby coloured velvet upon the scabbard thereof, together with red scorpions worked in silk, therefrom, he delivered to that honourable man, Thomas Ridley, then Mayor of the same city, and gladly presented the same to be borne for ever before every Mayor of the same city, for the time being, at their pleasure. So that every Mayor in his time should rejoice in a variety of so many principal swords, and thence praise and honour should increase and multiply to all, and the people in passing might exclaim with joy and commendation. 'Behold the two swords of the city of York ; the first, namely, of King Richard ; the other, indeed, of the Emperor.' A third sword remains for *daily* use ; not obtained by the gift of a king, but, truly, provided at the cost of the citizens. And thus the city of York is adorned with as many as three swords, each having two edges."

DESCRIPTION OF SIGISMUND'S SWORD.

It is two-handed, the blade is double-edged, the hilt has a plain cross-guard, and a pear-shaped pommel,

the grip is wrapped with silver wire. The scabbard is covered with ruby-coloured velvet, and decorated with ornaments of silver (or some other metal) gilt, representing dragons or scorpions.

In 1478, preparatory to a visit paid to the city by King Edward IV, the Corporation had the velvet covering of the scabbard renewed, and the metal coverings regilt. The blade now bears an inscription, which was engraved upon it in the year 1586, during the mayoralty of Henry May, when the sword was newly decorated, preparatory to the reception of the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President, in his official character of Lord Lieutenant of the city and county. The inscription, in Roman capitals, is the same on both sides. It runs thus: "Sigismundi imperat. dat. M. C. Eb. 1439¹ ornat. Henri May Maior 1586."

A shield of the royal arms, England and France quarterly, surmount the inscription on one side and a shield of the armorial bearings of the city on the other.

THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND.

Sigismund, King of Hungary, brother of Winceslaus, King of Bohemia (at one time German Emperor), was elected German Emperor in 1411. The affairs of the Holy See were in a very unsettled state at this time. There were no less than three claimants to the Papacy: (1) Gregory XII, acknowledged in Italy; (2) Benedict XIII, acknowledged in France; and (3) John XXIII (successor of Alexander V), who had been elected by the Cardinals at Pisa, who sought to depose the other two.

Sigismund, desirous to heal the wounds of the Church, convoked a general council at Constance with the concurrence of Pope John (1414). Ultimately both John and Gregory renounced the pontificate, while Benedict was deposed by the Council, who elected Martin V (1417), and the schism was thus concluded.

Another disorder in the Church had been created by the preaching of John Huss, Professor of Divinity in the

¹ Of course he did nothing of the kind as he died the year before. Davies quotes a record that Sigismund came to England in 1421 (8 Henry VI), and then goes on to say that he landed 30th April 1416, etc.

University of Prague, who had embraced the opinions of Wicliffe, and been excommunicated by the Pope.

Huss converted to his own way of thinking a large number of people of all ranks, and he attended before Sigismund's Council of Constance in order to justify the doctrine he professed. That venerable body, however, seemed inclined to condemn him unheard, when the Emperor desired them to listen to what Huss had to say in his own defence. He was accordingly questioned in presence of Sigismund, and accused of heresy in thirty-nine articles. Part of these he denied, and part he offered to defend. But his voice was drowned by the noise purposely made by the cardinals, and, on his refusing to abjure all the thirty-nine articles, he was immediately declared a sower of sedition, a hardened heretic, a disciple and defender of Wicliffe. Thereupon he was degraded by four bishops, stripped of his sacerdotal habit, and clothed in a lay dress. His hair was cut in the form of a cross, upon his head was put a paper mitre, painted with the representation of three devils, and he was handed over to the secular judge, who condemned him and his writings to the flames, and fixed the day of his execution. He died with great constancy.

But religious disputes did not end with the death of Huss. The Hussites in Prague being prohibited from the cup in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, rose in tumult, and murdered the magistrate who had issued the order of prohibition. Shortly afterwards Sigismund succeeded his brother Wincellaus as King of Bohemia (1419), and waged war with the Hussite leaders, until a general amnesty was arranged in 1436.

Though unsuccessful in the concluding battle, the Hussites gained many victories under Ziska and Procopius, and obtained with the amnesty a concession which to them was a kind of triumph, namely, the confirmation of their privileges, and the right of using the cup in the communion. In the course of the war they are said to have avenged the death of their apostle by the most terrible outrages.

After the conclusion of peace, Sigismund led the Hussite veterans against the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary. The Turks were defeated with great slaughter.

The Emperor again attempted to tyrannise over the consciences of the Bohemians, and death only saved him from a second revolt (1438).

It is strange that one who was so instrumental in settling the question of the succession to the Papacy, and so anxious to subdue the heresy of the Hussites, a "narrow-minded bigot", as he has been described, should have had for consort one who denied a future state, and was a most licentious woman. But it was not a love match. Before his election as Emperor, and while he was King of Hungary, he had been taken prisoner by the nobles of his kingdom. He was guarded by two nobles of the House of Gara, the head of which he had put to death, who were near relatives of the Comte de Cillei. To obtain his liberty he promised to marry Barbara, daughter of this Count, and he kept his word.

ANECDOTES OF SIGISMUND.

One day he asked Theodoric, Archbishop of Cologne, "By what means can a man secure happiness?"

"We cannot expect it in this world," replied the prelate.

"But," continued the Emperor, "how should we proceed in order to arrive at celestial happiness?"

"Go straight" (*Il faut marcher droit*), replied Theodoric.

"What do you mean by going straight?" inquired Sigismund.

"Live always as you promise to do when you are troubled with gout, or gravel, or any other severe illness," replied the Archbishop. An interesting paraphrase of the well-known lines:

"The Devil fell sick, the Devil a saint would be;
The Devil got well, the Devil a saint was he."

One day 40,000 golden ducats were brought to him, which he had placed in the room in which he proposed to sleep. Abed, he pondered with so much inquietude over the question of what he would do with the money that gentle sleep would not his eyelids close. Whereupon he determined to order the attendance of his ministers of state and his generals at midnight. They came,

greatly alarmed by so extraordinary an order. As soon as they were within the bedchamber the Emperor opened his coffer and distributed the money among them. Then he said to them, " You have only to retire to your homes. I am going to sleep tranquilly, since that which has deprived me of slumber departs with you."

SIR MARTIN BOWES' SWORD.

This sword is inscribed as follows : " Sir Martyn Bowes, Knight, borne within this Citie of York, and Maior of the Citie of London, 1545, for a remembrance gave thys sword to the Maior and Communalitie of this said honorable Citie."

It is thus described by Davies : " The Bowes sword is much smaller than that which belonged to the Emperor Sigismund. The blade is about 3 ft. 2 ins. long, and the whole length of the sword about 3 ft. The sheath was originally covered with crimson velvet, garnished with pearls and stones set upon silver gilt. In the early part of the seventeenth century the sword appears to have sustained considerable injury. The velvet of the scabbard required to be renewed, and the ornaments to be re-gilt. The gems and pearls with which it was decorated had disappeared, and new stones were purchased of a London lapidary to replace them. There is reason to suppose that the sword had been carried away by some officer of the court of King James I, during that monarch's visit to the city in the year 1603, and that it was not recovered without much delay and difficulty."

Davies gives an interesting account of the Bowes family. The donor's father had been Sheriff and Lord Mayor of York, and also member for the city. His grandfather had held the same offices. Sir Martin proceeded at an early age to London. He rose to affluence as a goldsmith, was first treasurer of the Royal Mint, under Henry VIII and Edward VI, and jeweller to Elizabeth. In the midst of his prosperity he was never forgetful of the city of his birth, nor did he ever neglect any opportunity of promoting its welfare."

His reverence for the memory of his ancestors probably induced him to pray the Corporation to spare the church

of St. Cuthbert, Peaseholme, from demolition—a request which was successfully urged. Not long afterwards (20th September 1549) he presented the sword as a “pretty token of remembrance.”

THE LOST SWORDS.

It is much to be lamented that the identical sword which was presented to the city by King Richard II, and was in existence in the latter part of the last century, is not now in the possession of the rightful owners. At what time or by what means the ancient symbol of dignity passed from the hands of the Corporation is not known.

The fate of the fourth sword, which “was formerly made use of (*vide* Drake) on every time when the Lord Mayor went abroad or stirred from home”, is also involved in mystery.

THE CAP OF MAINTENANCE.

The cap (or velvet hat) now in use has done much service, according to Davies, since 1580. King Richard II, in the year 1392 or 1393, presented Robert Savage, then Lord Mayor, with a large gilt mace to be borne before him and his successors, *as also a cap of maintenance to the swordbearer*.¹

The original hat was doubtless worn out and cast aside as early as the year 1445, when the Corporation found it necessary to provide a new one. In that year a bearer's hat was purchased for the Lord Mayor's swordbearer, which cost the city forty-two shillings. This would have been an enormous price for a plain beaver hat, but we reasonably infer that it included the cost of the usual decorations of velvet and gold lace.

Three years previously “*vijd.*” had been spent in repairing the original hat. The 1445 hat (23 Henry VI) gave way to the present one (1580) (*vide* Davies's opinion).

In 1580 the Corporation provided a new hat of felt, covered with crimson velvet, and ornamented with a gold edge, and a gold tassel, and a gold band, as

¹ *Eboracum*, pp. 106, 181 ; Torr, p. 41.

appears from the following entry on the corporation minutes :—

“Charges for a new hat of maintenance, ordered to be paid to Peter Wilkinson, 19th May 1580, viz.—1 Felt hat, 3s. ; 1 gold edge, 3s. 4*d.* ; 1 gold tassel, 5s. ; lining in the head, 1s. 6*d.* ; cover of buckram, 2s. ; 1 gold band, £1 2s. 8*d.* ; making hat, 2s. 6*d.* Summa, 40s.

Besides these charges, William Scott, mercer, was paid for crimson velvet used for covering the hat, after the rate of 24s. a yard.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CAP.

The hat or cap of estate worn by the swordbearer is a peculiar symbol of dignity, probably originating in the ancient practice of the adornment of the head to signify honour and favour, as by the priestly mitre and the kingly crown. In the fourteenth century we have reference to the use of the cap of estate in the investiture of dukes. Later it was used at the creation of lesser dignitaries.

“No greater honour could be conferred upon a temporal prince than the presentation to him by the Pope of a cap of estate, accompanied by a sword, and sometimes a golden rose, which had been consecrated by the holy father’s benediction.” (Davies.)

The sword and cap the Pope used to send, in the olden time, after the Mass of the day, to some Christian crusader prince. King Edward IV and King Henry VII were recipients of the honour, and Davies’ gives quotations from old records describing the display and ceremony with which the gifts were received.

The blessing of a sword and cap of estate by the Pope appears to have been an annual ceremony, until modern times. During the Councils of Constance, Pope John XXII made, perhaps, the earliest recorded presentation to the Emperor Sigismund. After this gift Sigismund proceeded to England, and himself left a sword in the Royal Chapel of St. George, at Windsor, which is to-day the principal state sword of the Corporation of York.

The cap transmitted by the Pope must not be con-

“The Full Cap of Maintenance.”

founded with the sovereign's cap of estate, which from an early period has been used in this country on occasions of regal state and ceremony. At the coronation of King Richard I, the archbishop placed on the monarch's head the consecrated cloth, and over it the cap. Afterwards the archbishop placed the crown upon the royal head.

At the opening of Parliament in modern times the cap of estate is always carried in the procession by some nobleman of high rank, who holds it upon a short staff on the right hand of the sovereign while seated on the throne. The name of the cap of maintenance is said to be derived from its being given by the sovereign to be held by the hand (*tenu par la main*) whilst he is wearing the crown. One of the earliest glyptic representations of the English cap of estate is upon the great seal of Edward III, who was the first of the monarchs to adopt for his crest a lion passant guardant crowned upon a *chapeau d'honneur*. A model of the same crest is yet to be seen among the heraldic adornments of the tomb of the Black Prince, in Canterbury Cathedral. The form of the cap is extremely simple, the brim, or border, being turned up in front and faced with ermine.

"The Elizabethan cap of maintenance, now belonging to the Corporation of York, is not without its resemblance to its original type both in form and material. It has the crimson velvet covering, and the ample brim turned up in front, which characterise the *chapeau d'honneur* of the fourteenth century. The facing of the ermine is wanting, for which, perhaps, the decoration of a gold band and tassel may be deemed an equivalent."¹

Drake has the following further reference to the cap (*Eboracum*, p. 223):

"The swordbearer hath a hat of maintenance, which he wears only on Christmas Day, St. Maurice's Day, and on the high days of solemnity. This hat he puts off to no person whatsoever, and sits with it on all the time during divine service at the cathedral, or elsewhere.

¹ Davies, quoting Sandford, and also Stothard's *Monument. Effigies*.

MARRIAGE IN CELTIC BRITAIN.

BY J. H. MACMICHAEL, ESQ.

So many conflicting opinions are expressed by writers upon the subject, historians, philologists, and ethnologists, with regard to the real nature of the marriage relations and family life of the Ancient Britons, that the propriety will perhaps be conceded of an attempt to vindicate their character from the charge preferred by Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, and reiterated by succeeding classic and modern, but not by early native writers, of an outrageous laxity with which the primeval institution was regarded, and to enunciate the arguments available towards establishing the more favourable view in this respect of Brythonic morals. To do this it is necessary first to briefly view in its wider bearing the evidence which Comparative Philology affords, when it will be found that, even before the separation of the Aryan race, all the words which, like *socer*, father-in-law, signify those family relationships known to us by the addition of the words *in-law*, had received expression and sanction in the Aryan language, a circumstance which conclusively shows that the undispersed Aryans were acquainted with the institution of marriage and with those orderly family arrangements which follow in the train of a due regard for its sanctity. And Max Müller, in his essay upon *Comparative Mythology*, observes that “the race of men which could coin these words—words which have been carried down the stream of time, and washed up on the shores of so many nations—could not have been a race of savages, or mere nomads and hunters.”¹

But this is no isolated instance of so favourable a view, for there seems to be a general tendency amongst the best authorities, especially with the aid which this search-light

¹ *Selected Essays*, Max Müller. For example :—

	Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Slavonic	Celtic
Father-in-law	svásura	ἐκυρὸς	socer	svaihra	svekr	W. chwegrwn
Mother-in-law	svasru	ἐκρυα	socrus	svaihrô	svekrvy	W. chwegyr
						etc., p. 330.

of Comparative Philology affords, to believe that the social position of the Celtic woman, even allowing for the modifications in manners and customs to which the ceaseless migrations of the Celtic tribes might have led, was a relatively high one, certainly as high as, if not higher than that which prevailed amongst the Gothic race; but no such comparisons, having even a *suspicion* of "odiousness", need be made, for although the ancient British had not the greatest of the Roman historians to write especially of their manners, what Tacitus *has* said of the Britons leaves no room to doubt that he entertained a high opinion of them. We may, in fact, believe with Professor Huxley that "the typical Gauls of the ancient writers"—and this may be presumed to embrace their Gallo-Brythonic offshoot¹—"were close allies by blood, customs, and language, of the Germans".²

Dr. Schrader is, however, an exception to this rule as to the more favourable view of Celtic clan-life, and his opinion is sufficiently noteworthy. He observes the absence of an Indo-European name for the wedded pair, thence inferring polygamy to have been the rule, and monogamy not even the exception; but this inference is hardly strengthened by the ensuing reflection, namely, that "the modern view, according to which marriage is identity of interests, supported by law, church, love, and custom, was foreign to the primeval period, when the man was absolute master, and the wife, acquired by capture or purchase, merely a servant and bearer of children."³

Why should we consider that this identity of interests was, even in pre-historic times, thus unsupported by law, custom, love, and church? The tendency of the following remarks will, I hope, be to show that not only law, love, and custom, but even church also, or at least the equiva-

¹ It may be mentioned, in passing, that by the use of such words as "Briton", "Gallo-Brythonic", etc., the responsibility is avoided which would otherwise be assumed in bringing the Belgæ, as distinct from the Cymri, under the designation of "Celtic",—a term which can be strictly applied to the Cymri alone of the two; whilst the questionable use of the word "Celtic", as applied to the inhabitants of those parts of Britain of which one speaks, will, perhaps, sometimes, for convenience sake, be permissible.

² *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 180.

³ *Prehist. Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples*.

lent of all these four conditions, certainly *did* exist, and that, too, amongst the ancient Britons, for what is custom but oral and unwritten law, or law but the tabulated expression of custom ?¹ As to love, is it at all probable that love in its higher phases did not exist merely because there was no *national* ecclesiastical sanction of its consummation by marriage ?

“In love, the heavens themselves do guide the state ;
Money buys land, and wives are sold by fate.”²

And a refinement of the passions is not a quality of which the most civilised communities enjoy a monopoly. As to church, is it not improbable that any ritual which the Druidical system could enforce would be deemed necessary in a matter which more particularly concerned the private social arrangements of the sept or clan,³ when, in short, the religion of the hearth under the clan system would be equally, nay, more powerful and binding in its operations ? and it can readily be conceived that the clan system fostered an approximately and comparatively true idea of the position of woman amongst a race like the Indo-European, “noble above all others”, without their possessing a common name for the two parents.⁴ In like manner no word survives for river, or button, or egg, or the human skin, but no one would therefore wish to maintain that any one of these was either unknown or unnamed.⁵ It is well to remember that it was of the first

¹ Custom was always regarded, even by the Romans, as closely approximating to law in its binding force. See Appendix to Abdy and Walker's *Institutes of Justinian*.

² *Merry Wives*, Act v, Sc. 5.

³ “Le prêtre ne pouvant descendre aux détails, il fallut qu'à défaut de lois civiles, les affaires de la famille gauloise fussent toujours dirigées par l'aieul ; il s'entremet encore dans les actes civils, jugea les différends, calma les querelles, sans toutefois empiéter sur les attributions du grand tribunal des Druides.” (L. A. Martin, *Histoire Morale de la Gaule*, p. 50.)

⁴ From the Sanskrit *dhava*, husband, is formed *vi-dhavā*, husbandless, i.e., widow ; in Celtic, *feadbh* ; whence Müller infers that if the custom of widow-burning had existed in the early organization of the Aryan family life, the want of a name for a woman who had lost her husband would hardly have been felt ; or if it had been, the word would most likely have had some reference to this awful rite. See *Selected Essays* (“Comparative Mythology”) for words referred to above relating to degrees of affinity.

⁵ G. H. Rendall, *The Cradle of the Aryans*, p. 10.

importance under the clan system to preserve the continuity of the family in the succession of the son, that the sanctity of the home¹ was preserved by the religion which was common to the whole Aryan race, namely, that of the Hearth; in short the house of the Briton was his church,² its members were priests and priestesses of the Hearth, and the house mother the high priestess whose offices corresponded with those of the Roman *mater familias*. It was probably a recognition of the importance of this position of the house-mother, in regard to the clan and the hearth, that gave to the Celtic woman a place in the religious system of the Druid, corresponding closely with the conspicuous position which the vestal virgins filled in relation to the cult of the hearth among the Greeks and Romans. We know that the Britons worshipped fire as the symbol of the "golden-handed" Sun, the lavish distributor of the countless benefits which his light and heat confer upon Man; and among the Slavs,³ the Lithuanians, the old Prussians,⁴ the Greeks,

¹ The difference between the ancient and modern European house is well remarked by De Coulanges in *The Ancient City*. "For use", he says, "the house is merely a domicile, a shelter. We leave it and forget it with little trouble; or if we are attached to it, this is merely by the force of habit and of recollections, because for us religion is not there. Our God is the God of the universe; we find Him everywhere." (Ed. 1874, p. 130.)

² The influence of Hestia was, perhaps, more deeply felt among the Greeks, and wrought more good than that of any other Olympian deity. Her worship involved direct and practical duties. She could not be fitly served by men who broke their plighted word, or dealt treacherously with those whom they had received at their hearth; and thus her worship was almost an unmixed good both for households and for the state. (See G. W. Cox's *Manual of Mythology*, p. 28.)

³ The morals of the Eastern Slavs, if we are to believe *The Chronicle of Nestor*, a Russian monk of the eleventh century, were of a woful nature. Perhaps, however, little reliance is to be placed upon one who entertained views of marriage so antagonistic to those which he described. See *La Chronique de Nestor*. French translation by Louis, Prais, 1834.

⁴ These are among the nations whose especial rite it was to keep up sacred, everlasting fires in the symbolic sense. The last lingering relics of fire-worship in Europe reach us, as usual, through Turanian and Aryan channels of folk-lore. The Esthonian bride consecrates her new hearth and home by an offering of money cast into the fire, or laid on the oven, for Tule-ema (Fire-Mother). See Bœcler, *Ehsten. Aberggl. Gebr.*, p. 29, quoted by Tylor in *Primitive Culture*. The high pagan

the Romans, the Iranians, and the Hindus,¹ the first conditions of worship were that the sacred fire should be transmitted from father to son. And hence in the *sacra privata* of the Gael and the Brython, the fire as it remained unextinguished upon the domestic hearth was, besides being a symbol of the sun-god, also a symbol of the unity of the family, which a violation of conjugal virtue² must have tended to destroy; and herein the cult was identified with ancestor worship, for it was the fire by which the sacrifice was conveyed into the presence of the departed spirits; and that the Britons were not oblivious of the memory of their ancestors is shown in Tacitus' *Life of Agricola*, where Calgacus—and fictitious as such speeches are deemed, they may still be considered the expression of a prevalent belief—is described as urging his warriors, as they entered the field of battle, to

morality, according to Tacitus, of the ancient Germans may be attributed to the religion of the hearth. Cæsar says of them that "they reckon in the number of their gods those only whom they perceive, and whose benefits they openly enjoy,—the sun, fire, and the moon." (*De Bell. Gall.*, vi, 21.) The Teutonic fire-god, *Loki* (originally *Logi*) is akin to the old *liukan*, the Latin *lucere* (to shine), the modern German *lohe* (glow). See G. W. Cox's *Mythology and Folk-Lore*, p. 172. In the presence of this fire no act materially or morally impure could be committed. (*Ibid.*)

¹ See Dosabhai Sohrabji's *Hist. of the Parsis*. See *The Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians*, Wilhelm Geiger. Fire was to the ancient Persians a symbol of moral purity and strong weapon of defence against the demons. During night and darkness, when the wicked demons are at their work, fire produces light and brightness, and frightens away these hellish spirits. (Vol. i.)

Amongst the ancient Prussians a perpetual fire was kept up in honour of the god Potrimpos, and if it was allowed to go out, the priest in charge was burnt to death. (Voight, *Gesch. Preussen*, vol. i, p. 582; quoted by Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 318.)

² From this it may be surmised that the purely artificial feeling of shame peculiar to a highly civilised people (see Letourneau's *Sociology Based on Ethnology*) was unknown, at all events among the house-community, if not in the general life of the Britons.

The Druids had their solemn fires on the eve of November, to which the people were obliged to resort, and rekindle the private fires in their houses from these (Beltane) consecrated fires of the Druids; the domestic fire in every house having been, for that purpose, first carefully extinguished. See Toland's *Hist. of Druids*, and Borlase's *Antiq. of Cornwall*.

In the laws of Menu, the illegitimate son annihilates in this world, and in the next, the offerings made to the Manes (iii, 75).

think of their ancestors and of their posterity. Ancestor worship must, in fact, have had a decided influence upon their marriage relations.

The ancient British believed as firmly that the spirits of the departed "compassed them about like a cloud of witnesses" as they did in the tangible existence in the flesh of their kith and kin. But to render this fact ever present in their minds, they in imagination embodied those spirits in the animate objects which they saw around them. Hence we find that in the battle of Cattraeth, as described in the *Gododin*, the British tribes are distinguished as wolves, bears, or ravens, so that ancestor worship and totemism, as part of the cult of the hearth, prompted them to acts of domestic virtue no less than of martial valour. A relic of the good faith, which this regard for the sanctity of the hearth inculcated, exists to this day in Ireland, where the expression "breaking the cinders" means to "charge and confirm guilt on a man at his own hearth, so that the fire, which represents his honour, is broken up into cinders. The trampling of a man's cinders was one of the greatest insults which could be offered to him, as it conveyed the idea of guilt, and that not only on the individual himself, but also on his family."¹

The degradation of, or, at least, the contempt for women is a prominent trait in the character of savage peoples, but the Britons honoured their womankind in at least two notable ways,² namely, by conceding to them, as in the instances of Boadicea and Cartismandua,³ a right to the throne, and by permitting them to minister

¹ See W. K. Sullivan's Introduction to *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, by E. O'Curry, vol. ii, p. 278. "A burning shame" seems, according to this writer, to be an expression still in use, which may be traced to the same origin. The terms *grisach* and *grisach dear-ginso*, in the sense of "shame" and "burning shame", are still commonly used, he says, as denunciatory epithets by the Irish-speaking people.

² In his edition of Macpherson's *Gaelic Proverbs* Mr. Nicholson says he does not know any other proverbs that speak of women so respectfully as the Gaelic ones do. They are not wanting in humour; but they never regard women as inferior creatures, and mere causes of mischief, which is the point of view of several great nations.

³ See Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 3, c. 45. Boadicea, it is, however, to be noted, was one of the Germanic rather than the Keltic type of woman.

in the Druidic rites,¹ whilst ancient British poems, when the bards were not, obediently to the impulse of lyre and mead, extolling the deeds of the warrior on the battle field, often took feminine beauty and virtue for their theme. It was after the

“dismal roaring, fierce and deep gloom of battle;
Like mist poured on the valley, when storms invade the silent
sunshine”,

that in the “hall of shells” memories of the slain mingled with thoughts of the living; and when the victors, as the flare of the torchlight or the gleam of the burning oak fell upon the torque of gold,² the bossed shield and blood-stained spear, upon the marine “conch”,³ or upon the metal rim of the bugle-hirlas, as the foaming mead went round—listened to the song of the bard as it directed their thoughts to a hard-earned reunion around the common hearth, albeit there was many a bereaved “spouse” who sat “in the hall of sorrow”, apart from the festive throng.

In the story of Orla the hero exclaims, as he falls mortally wounded in battle: “I am the son of Lochlin, and strong is my arm in war. My spouse is weeping at home, but Orla will never return.”⁴ And so with Degrena (in Gaelic, “Sunbeam”), the lovely spouse of the fallen Crugal, to whom she had been married only a little time before the battle: “Sad is the spouse of Crugal, for she is a stranger in the hall of her sorrow.”⁵ In fact, though Ossian’s beautiful poem *Fingal* be, as Sharon Turner deems it, “an obvious gratification of national vanity”,⁶ and was composed when Druidism only lingered in the Cimmerian gloom which immediately preceded the

¹ See Borlase’s *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 86. Of the three classes of Druidesses, the first vowed perpetual virginity; the second were married, but permitted only once a year to visit their husbands; whilst the third class were not parted from their husbands.

² They wore solid charms of pure and beaten gold about their necks. (See *Diod. Sic.*, book v, c. ii.)

³ The spiral marine shell—the *conch*, identified with Triton, was used anciently by the people who inhabited the sea-coast, as a drinking vessel. Hence in Ossian occur the expressions “Chief of shells”, “Hall of shells”.

⁴ *Fingal*, book v.

⁵ *Fingal*, book ii.

⁶ *Vindication*, p. 153.

dawn of Christianity, yet it breathes a spirit of chivalry towards the fair¹ strangely inconsistent with Cæsar's aspersion—an aspersion which cannot be permitted to leave its stigma upon the fair Evir-Allin, whose beauty tunes the warrior-poet's lyre :

“I was not so dark and sightless
When Evir-Allin gave her love ;
Evir-Allin of brown hair,
Mano's daughter of bosom fair.
A thousand heroes wooed her,
A thousand heroes she refused her hand ;
The sworded warriors were set aside,
Fair in her eye was Ossian.”²

And this refinement of sentiment occurs throughout the poems of Ossian—but not only in Ossian. In *The Gododin* of Aneurin, the earliest and not unwarranted “temperance sermon” in Britain, on an occasion when the disastrous defeat of the Britons at the Battle of Catteraeth was owing to their excessive indulgence in

“The pale mead [which] had been their drink
[and] became their poison”,

the praises are sung of the daughter of Eudar,

“The tall ; graceful her motion ;
Purple her robes, and splendid ;
The slender fair one bore the praise for chastity.”³

¹ The Welsh poetry has frequent instances of descriptive adjectives being used to express noun substantives. Thus the bards sometimes put *meinir* for a charming woman. The word literally means anything slender and lively. (See Turner's *Vindication*, p. 47.)

² *Fingal*, canto iv, lines 15-22.

³ “There is no success to the progeny of an unchaste person,” occurs in the *Odes of the Month* as one of the maxims which were commonly repeated before Aneurin lived, probably about A.D. 500. (See Wm. Probert, *The Gododin*, p. 11.) Of the restraint which encompassed the young Briton Cæsar says: “Hoc ali staturam, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicesimum feminæ notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus.” (*Cæsar*, Lib. vi, c. xxi.) Of the ancient Germans Tacitus says, “Sera juvenis Venus.” The ancient British custom of presenting the *cowyll*, which was said by their laws to be that which a woman about to be married gets for her virginity, shows that chastity was a qualification looked for by the bridegroom ; and that law which allowed a husband corporally to chastise his erring wife manifests that continency was esteemed a virtue by the Britons. The jealousy which is inherent in the descendants of the ancient Britons seems very averse to a system of matrimonial clubs. (Meyrick's *Costume of the Original Inhabitants of the British Isles*, p. 3.)

The position of womankind, even amongst savages, is not so abject in relation to marriage as has often been supposed, for they can attract the men whom they prefer, and can sometimes, either before or after marriage, reject those whom they dislike, and numerous instances might be cited of the voice or choice which they have in respect to the man with whom they are to be united.¹ It were, however, superfluous to claim for the social status of the Celtic women that it was superior to that of mere savages, especially as, with one exception, and that the one under notice, the accounts of the ancients contain nothing derogatory to the morals of the ancient Britons. For the inhumanity of their human sacrifices, a custom traces of which are found among all Indo-European races,² and which was not to them "inhuman" in the sense in which it appears to us, *i.e.*, in that it was the costliest sacrifice which could be made, and therefore the most acceptable to Bel,³ can hardly count in a consideration of their private morals.⁴

It is around the statement in Cæsar's *Commentaries* that the controversy concerning the subject under notice principally centres. We are told that among the ancient Britons, "by tens and twelves husbands possessed their wives in common, and especially brothers with brothers, and parents with children."⁵ Did Cæsar mean by this, as Sammes in his *Britannia* says, that there was but one wife to ten husbands?⁶ Such a contingency is extremely improbable, seeing in the first place that polyandry was unknown to the Aryan races, and is never dissociated

¹ See Darwin on "The Manner and Action of Sexual Relations", *The Descent of Man*, vol. ii, p. 408.

² See V. Hehn's *Wanderings of Plants and Animals*, p. 414, note 8 to p. 32, where the subject is treated exhaustively.

³ When a great Scythian or Tatar emperor died, a single war-horse slain to accompany him into the next world was not sufficient. He must have a whole bodyguard of mounted youths. These must be slain for his service; nay, according to Herodotus, to accompany a king of the Scythians (the *Scolotai* in Southern Russia) they ordinarily strangled one of his concubines, his cup-bearer (or adjutant?), and a stud of horses. Cruel as we may deem these acts, they were not malignant, and did not imply peculiar atrocity in the agents. (See *Ancient Sacrifice*, by F. W. Newman, p. 4.)

⁴ Geo. Smith, *History of Religion of Ancient Britain*, ed. 1865, p. 66.

⁵ Lib. v, c. xiv.

⁶ P. 119.

among barbarous tribes from infanticide, of the systematic practice of which—although “exposure” was not unknown—the contemporary and later classic authors make mention. Or was it intended that, although each man had a wife, yet there was an entire absence of conjugal ties—in other words, that the Britons practised an organised promiscuity?—the possibility of which, in the face of such overwhelming evidence to the contrary, cannot for one moment be admitted.¹ Dr. Jevons, writing in the *Journal of Philology*,² observes, in allusion to both Cæsar’s statement and a similarly interpretable passage in Polybius, that both authors were probably confirmed in error by the fact that among the Spartans, as amongst many other Aryan peoples, a husband, in default of sons, called in his brother or other near kinsman “to raise up seed unto him”, a practice which had its origin not in polyandry, but in the paramount necessity, according to Aryan ideas, of providing sons to offer the usual *sacra* to the House Spirit. Of this opinion is also Sir William Betham in *The Gael and Cymbri*. The wives, he says, were not in common during the lives of the husbands, but a woman was given, on the death of her husband, to his brother, “that he might raise up seed to his deceased brother”; for “the children were”, says Cæsar, “counted his to whom the mother was first given in marriage.”

“It is unnecessary to point out the Phœnician origin of this custom. Holy Writ supplies it. What has generally”, continues this eminent antiquary, “been considered as a proof of the profligate manners of the ancient Britons is nothing more than an adherence to the ancient customs of their ancestors, before they left the East, and has nothing in it to shock the most moral mind. Cæsar knew the fact imperfectly, and gave it as he understood it, erroneously.”³ But apart from this, and trustworthy as Cæsar may be when what he says is the result of personal observation,

¹ It is well established that the Aryan races had passed through the promiscuity stage, a stage which Dr. Mackennan shows every race to have passed through, and had established the institution of marriage before they left their original home in Central Asia. See “The Picts”, by Alexander Bain, *Celtic Review*, July 1887.

² See “Kin and Custom”, by J. B. Jevons, *Journal of Philology*, vol. xiv.

³ P. 159.

such evidence as we have of the social state of the Britons tends powerfully to engender doubt as to the truth of the statement in question, and to induce a belief that a solution of its meaning can be sought only in the ancient house community, which is believed to have been common to all the Indo-European peoples,¹ in which the house-father ruled autocratically, like the Greek οἰκοδεσπότης, the Roman paterfamilias, the ghrapati of the Hindus, or the nmano-paiti of the Iranians, over what is known to Hindu lawyers as the "joint undivided family"—joint, that is to say, "in food, worship, and estate";² whilst it was a collection of such families, descended from one common ancestor, that made up the Aryan village community.³ And here it may be observed that Professor Rhys, in his *Celtic Britain*, insists that so far is promiscuity from having been the custom of the Celts of Britain, it is not certain that it can have been to any great extent that of any Aryan people whatever.⁴

Among the many reasons for which it is difficult to conclude that our remote ancestors were accessories to the practice in question, is that of the readiness with which they embraced the teaching of Christianity, and with it its precepts with regard to monogamy; for we know that polygamy or other forms of marriage which in our view are deemed irregular, are with savage tribes often found to be difficulties of an insuperable character in the way of their acceptance of dogmatic Christianity. Then

¹ See Dr. Schrader's *Prehist. Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples*.

² So described by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (see Moore's *Indian Appeal*, vol. ii, p. 75). Such a house-community as this consists, according to Krauss' description (*Sitte und Brauch bei den Südslaven*, p. 64, ff.), of a body of about sixty or seventy members who are blood relations to the second or third degree, "of course only on the male side". At their head is a house-administrator (usually *domacin*), who is indeed paid the greatest respect, but who is not to be regarded as the master and owner of the family property, like the Roman paterfamilias. The family property is rather the joint property of all the male adult members of the household. (See Schrader's *Prehist. Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples*, trans. by Jevons, ed. 1882, pp. 393-4.)

³ The tribal origin of village societies is indicated by Bede's use of the word "Maegth", or "Kindred", to signify a province or region, and by the patronymic form of place-names. (See Elton's *Origins of Eng. Hist.*, p. 404, note.)

⁴ *Celtic Britain*, ed. 1882, p. 55.

it may be permitted to some extent to appraise the character of the Briton according to the high morality, reflected probably from more ancient sources, in the *Triads*, which, whilst they celebrate the virtues of the British women, brand with infamy the memory of those who have strayed from the paths of virtue. Neither must we disregard the incitement to such high morality as is contained in the bardic doctrine of the immortality of the soul,¹ or in the heroic sentiments which often tuned the lyre of the bard.

It cannot be gainsaid that the passage in Cæsar practically means either absence of marriage law, or something very much better; and if this is as inimical to procreation as monogamy, or at the most a restricted polygamy, is favourable to it, how is it that the population of Britain was so great as to excite the astonishment of Cæsar, who speaks of *infinita multitudo hominum*?²

This remarkable fact with regard to the teeming population of Britain is additional evidence in favour of their more regular family life, and of their comparatively civilised conditions. The pursuit of agriculture among them was more general probably than may be gathered from Cæsar; for this density of population would certainly imply the existence of some less precarious means of support than mere hunting or a pastoral life, subject to the vicissitudes of plunder, affords, seeing that, as a learned writer has said, "It is only among strictly savage tribes that man's desires, being neither cherished by affluence nor inflamed by indulgence,³ are allowed to remain in that moderate state which renders them *barely sufficient*

¹ *Llywarch Hen*, p. 32, where Mrs. Owen truly says, "That the Britons had, notwithstanding the purity of the bardic system, many degrading superstitions and absurd customs, none will think of controverting, but we may fairly insist that very slight dependence ought to be placed in the relations of foreign authors with regard to any matter besides mere simple facts."

² *Cæsar*, Lib. v, c. xii. Diodorus also says, "The island is very populous", and this is language employed by persons well acquainted with the densely populated countries of Italy and Sicily, and used without qualification. (Geo. Smith, in *The History of the Relig. of the Anc. Britons*, p. 32.)

³ Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Itinerary of Wales*, tells us that the Britons were not addicted to either gluttony or drunkenness.

for the continuation of the species.¹ It is this fact that explains the paradox of the morality of a semi-barbarous people being sometimes apparently little inferior, if not sometimes even superior, to that which the history of a modern Christian State, or of a pagan, yet *civilised* one, reveals; for, as Gibbon says, "Although the progress of civilisation has undoubtedly contributed to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it seems to have been less favourable to the virtue of chastity, whose most dangerous enemy is softness of the mind."²

It is known, says Mr. J. R. Porter, writing in 1838, that marriages bear a fixed and definite relation to the price of corn. And it must have been in Keltic social economy, as it is in these days, that the number of marriage contracts was determined not by temper and the wishes of individuals, but by large general facts over which individuals have no control, one of these facts being the fluctuations in the facilities for obtaining the primary necessities of life. Then, again, the physique of Man, and consequently the propagation of the species, is influenced by the character of the food that he consumes, the food is influenced by the character of the soil, the soil by the climate, and the climate, speaking of our own geographical position, by that most wonderful of natural phenomena (as to its influence upon our climate), the Gulf Stream. Hence it is obvious that the morality of a people, and of that of the inhabitants of Britain, cannot altogether be dissociated from considerations of climate and locality, or in other words, of what Dr. Hunt calls Ethno-climatology.³

¹ Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, p. 15. The primary or fundamental check to the continued increase of man is the difficulty of gaining subsistence and of living in comfort. (Darwin's *Descent of Man* vol. i, p. 66.) That the great mass of the Britons were in no such abject condition as Cæsar describes them to have been, is sufficiently attested by the fact that in the future conquests of Britain, extending from the shores of the Channel to those of the Forth and Clyde, the Roman armies were supplied with corn and cattle, the products of British industry, and not only they, but also the necessarily more numerous native armies who opposed them. (See J. Crawford on "Cæsar's Account of Britain", in the *Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. v, p. 208.)

² *Roman Empire*, vol. v, chap. ix.

³ See *Transactions of Ethnol. Soc.*, James Hunt, Ph.D., on "Ethno-Climatology, or the Acclimatisation of Man", vol. ii.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH APRIL 1892.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

It was announced that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had graciously signified his consent to be a patron of the Congress to be held in the autumn at Cardiff.

J. W. Bodger, Esq., exhibited a series of antiquities which have been discovered during recent excavations at Peterborough and Sibson. Among these were three bronze Roman coins, one with Romulus and Remus on reverse, found with a jar of pale earthenware ornamented with red lines on three sides, arranged like chevrons in each case. These were about 8 ins. below the surface, and found March 24th, 1891, near Peterborough. Conical-shaped vessel of pale earthenware, ornamented with rings at apex, middle of base without colour, found about 12 ins. from the surface in same digging as above. Two irons, one part of stirrup, two bronze Roman pins, one bone pin, coin of Constantine and one other, 1891 March 26th, near Peterborough. Found near the before described, 25th March 1891, were a Roman bronze crescent pendant and two coins, and brass of Adrianus; *on reverse* Britannia seated. Part of leaden vase with fluted sides, found, with Roman jars and bronzes, some years back, at Sibson. Saxon bone comb, found in Queen Street, Peterborough, October 1884.

J. M. Wood, Esq., described an interesting seal now used by the Corporation, Sudbury, Suffolk. It is circular in form, and of sixteenth century date. An impression was produced.

W. de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., sent for exhibition a series of impressions of the seals of Boxley Abbey, Kent.

The following paper was then read:—

THE SEALS OF BOXLEY ABBEY.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

Among the seals preserved in the British Museum is an imperfect wax impression of one used in the fourteenth century by the Abbot and Convent of Boxley, but happily a plaster cast of another impression of the same seal is also preserved there, and by careful comparison

of them, under the skilful manipulation of Mr. R. Ready, an impression has been produced, and is now, with some photographs, placed on the table, which, as will be seen, admits of tolerably easy decipherment. The original seal is attached to a lease granted by the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, to the Abbey of Boxley of a piece of land called Wreggemede, bearing date A.D. 1336 (Additional Charters, 20,008). The imperfect plaster cast is No. lxx, 2, 3.

These impressions are fully described, and the legends satisfactorily deciphered, by Mr. de Gray Birch in his *Catalogue of Seals* (pp. 453-4, Nos. 2691-2). The *obverse* represents an arcade of three pointed arches, trefoiled, pinnaced, and crocketed, supported by a column of tabernacle work on either side, each column having in the middle a small quatre-foiled recess containing in relief the head of a saint, probably SS. Benedict and Bernard. Under this canopy is seated the Virgin Mary on a richly-carved throne, wearing a crown, and holding in her right hand a cinque-foiled rose, while on her left knee, supported by her left arm, is seated the Child Jesus, his head surrounded by a nimbus, his right hand raised as in the act of benediction, his left hand holding an orb. At the base, under a widely trefoiled arch, are the faces of three monks, in profile as though raised in prayer. The legends run round in two rings; the outer one is: SIGILLUM COMMUNE ECCL' BEATE MARIE DE BOXELE; the inner: SIT BUXUS (GRATA) TIBI CORDI VIRGO BEATA.

On the *reverse* are two figures, no doubt meant to represent the two patron saints of the Cistercian Order, SS. Benedict and Bernard, each standing in a trefoiled recess, or niche of a double canopy, holding in one hand a pastoral staff, curved outwards, and in the other a book, the canopy supported by panelled buttresses on either side, with a light plain column in the middle separating the two figures. The legends, which are metrical and rhyming, also run in two circles, but being still more imperfect than on the *obverse* can only be supplemented by conjecture. The outer one would appear to be: QUI LAUDANT HIC TE DEFENDE TUOS BENEDICTE; and the inner one,PROPICIAM FACITO BERNARDE MARIAM.

On both *obverse* and *reverse*, between the supporting buttresses of the canopy and the legend, is on either side a twig of a box-tree, clearly having reference to the name of the village, probably derived from the abundance of the box-trees (*buxus*) growing on the hillside.

A plaster cast of another seal, in the shape of a *vesica piscis*, (No lxx, 4) is preserved in the British Museum, which seems to belong to the preceding century, but there being no trace of the charter to which the seal had been attached, it is impossible to assign to it an exact date. This has only the figure of an abbot with the crozier turned inwards, the legend being SIGILLUM ABBATIS DE BOXELE. It was evi-



SEALS OF BOXLEY ABBEY.

dently the private seal or signet-ring of the abbot, while the other was the official one of the convent.

A discussion ensued, in which Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., described the present condition of the remains of the Abbey, and stated that box, from which the name is derived, still grows more or less abundantly on the slopes of the chalk hills, along the line of the ancient track-way still called "The Pilgrims' Road".

A second paper was then read on the "Discovery of a Roman Hypocaust at Chester", by F. H. Williams, Esq. At the close of the paper cordial votes of thanks were passed by the meeting to Mr. Williams for reporting the discovery to the Association within so short a space of time, and also to Mr. Sykes, the owner of the property, for arranging, at Mr. Williams' request, for the preservation of the remains which have been discovered, and which otherwise would have been destroyed. The paper was illustrated by many plans and photographs made by Mr. Williams. It is to be hoped that the paper will be printed in a future *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH APRIL 1892.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected members of the Association :—

Robert C. Bush, Esq., 1, Winifred's Dale, Bath.

Thomas S. Bush, Esq., Dale Cottage, Charlcombe, Bath.

Evan Carpenter, Esq., Heath Lodge, Croydon.

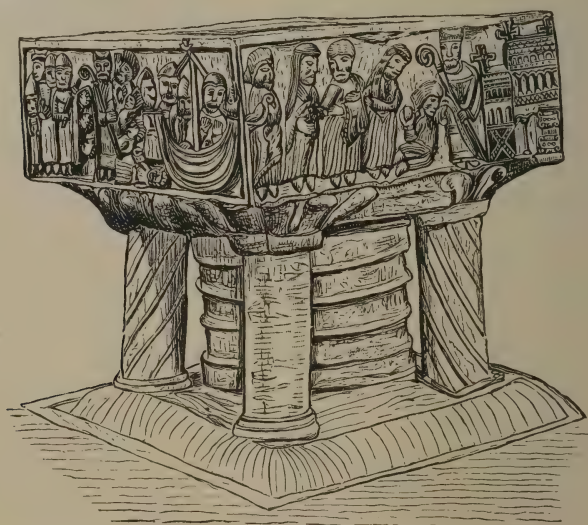
Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of various antiquities from recent excavations in Southwark, among them being fragments of mediæval *ficilia*, and one of the well-known bronze figures of Etruscan style, the use of which still requires satisfactory explanation. Mr. Way also exhibited a cast bronze Italian medallion of the *cinquecento* period. The *obv.* bears the inscription, DIVA AVGVSTA DIVAE FAVSTINAE. The *rev.*, DIVA FAUSTINA DIVS ANTONINVS. S. C.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read

FURTHER NOTES ON ST. NICHOLAS.

In continuation of my papers on St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, which have been printed in recent volumes of the *Journal* (1886 and 1888), I now have the pleasure of exhibiting a very good photograph of the ancient font preserved in Winchester Cathedral. This is of the middle of the twelfth century, and indicates many points of interest. The material is a finely grained natural black slatestone, which the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester informs me may be quarried still in Derbyshire, and Belgium, in the neighbourhood of Liège. The font is probably from

the latter place, for there would have been difficulty in bringing the stone from Derbyshire, while the water-carriage from Liège would be easy. It is probable that the age may date from the time of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester A.D. 1135-1176. This prelate was a great patron of the arts. I am informed there is an earlier Norman font in the Cathedral. The font, figured below, measures 3 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. square¹ by 3 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep. The bowl or cavity has a diameter of 2 ft. 4 ins., and a full depth of 1 ft. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. The stem is ornamented with horizontal curves or rolls, and the square foot carries flower or foliage work of the twelfth century style. The height from the ground is 3 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. At each corner is a shaft (two plain and two with spiral band-carving), which does not seem to be of the same stone as the top stone. The capitals of these shafts are carved on the under side of the top stone.



Font in Winchester Cathedral.

The style of the work and material itself may be compared with other fonts at (1) St. Michael's Church, Southampton, of which a photograph was exhibited; (2) East Meon, co. Hants; (3) St. Mary Bourne, co. Hants, which was figured and described in the *Journal* (vol. xxxvi, p. 30); and (4) a font in Lincoln Cathedral, which was examined by the members of the Congress in 1889.

The chief point of interest in this font is the carving on the faces standing west and south. The other sides and top have conventional carving of birds and flowers. On the south side is a tableau representing an elaborate building, adorned with arcades and cruciform

¹ The slab is not quite square, the sides varying a little, 3 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., 3 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., 3 ft. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., and 3 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

finials. We may compare the architectural details of this edifice with those seen on the two ancient slabs at Chichester, described in the *Journal* (vol. xlii, p. 255), and with many other twelfth century sculptures. Before the building stands St. Nicholas of Myra, wearing a flattened mitre and holding a crozier; with the right hand he is handing a ball-shaped object to a seated man, probably in illustration of the legend respecting the impoverished nobleman, whose daughter's marriage is sculptured on the left hand of the same scene.

The south side bears a tableau referring to two other notable events in the history of the Saint: on the right the restoration to life of a boy who has fallen from a ship, by his miraculous powers, and the restoration of three young men who had suffered martyrdom. The story of these events is recounted in the Latin texts, which are printed in my previous papers. At the extreme left-hand of this scene is a bishop¹ turned towards a boy who is reading (?). This may refer to the episode in the life of St. Nicholas when young.

Dr. J. Stevens has already contributed some interesting notes of this Winchester font in vol. xxxvi, pp. 30-31.

The little MS., Titus D. xxvi, now preserved in the Cotton Library of the British Museum, a work of the early part of the eleventh century by a monk of New Minster, contains, at folio 76-79, the following prayers to St. Nicholas, which claim a place beside the texts already printed in the *Journal*, and refer to the scenes depicted on the Cathedral font.

I.—Sancte Nicolae beatissime domine et pater té nobis dedit dominus patronum te pastorem . te intercessorem . Tu es beatus . Tu mitis . Tu misericors . Tu pacificus . Omni beatitudine repletus . Tu desiderasti Christum . Tu és cum Christo in societate omnium sanctorum . et ego miser² peccator et fragilis peccavi in omnibus uitiis . peccavi in desideriis meis male uiuendo . adiuuā me apud dominum Ihesum Christum . Cum omnibus sanctis ut habeam emendationem . et remissionem peccatorum . ut possim domini misericordiam consequi . et ueniam pro sceleribus meis et regnum ualeam intrare celorum . Ut non péream in aeternum nec ueniam in morte secunda . neque in terra obliuionis et nequitiae . et peccata que male commisi ego miser peccator et fragilis dele' intercedendo pro me ad dominum Ihesum Christum . qui uiuit .

II.—Sancte pater Nicolae uirtutis supernae merito adhléta splendissime . michi obsecro famulo tuo³ miserere . sicut misertus és quondam nautis maris periculo quassatis grauissime; Qui dum ad te clamarent . et tue dignitatis auxilium puro ex corde depóscerent . non

¹ The Dean, however, tells me he has always considered this boy with the vase in his hand as the last scene of the "British King" legend, and as belonging to the other half of that side of the font.

² Altered to "misera" by adding *a* in a later hand.

³ Altered to "famule tue" by adding *e* over the last letter of each word.

solum illis subuenisti sed gloriosissime aparuisti . et ecce *adsum* respondisti . adesto ergo michi miserrimo . et omnibus his mecum pro quibus preces fundere presumo . exi a me iniquitatis meæ pondus grauissimum . quemadmodum exemisti infam¹am trium uirginum inopiamque patris carum . que dum uitam suam inopiam coaptam meretricaliter patris iussu constituissent ducere . ut pretio quasi furtim noctu per fenestram domus qua erant proiecte . a tanto illas eripuisti facinore et que diabolice erant iam deliberatæ . domino munda effecisti uascula . itaque pater mundum fac ab omni iniquitate et a' diaboli uinculo éripe . per eum qui uiuit.

III.—Cæli terræque conditor . deus benignissime . exaudi quaeso deprecationem humilitatis meæ . ut me peccatorem¹ quem conscientia coram maiestate tua nimis grauer accuset . intercessio gloriosimi² pontificis tui Nicolai a peccatorum uinculis soluat . at ad eterne mansionis gaudia te domine Ihesu Christe annuente perducatur.

IV.—Ath[1]æta domini nobilissime pater et pastor Nicolae precor te exaudi uocem orationis meæ famili tui³ benignissime et admitte uotum animi mei in conspectu regis æterni intercessor strenuissime . ut michi omnia peccata mea indulgeat . méque quamuis peccatorem sibi dignum et idoneum ministrum faciat . et salutis æternæ requiem post huius uite miseriam . longamque perigrinat⁴ionem concede⁴. ac tuis piis pater meritis pro me misero assidue coram eius presentia fusis . ille humani generis inimicus in me numquam preualeat . sed in sinu Haburhæ recipi . et cum illo Lazaro quondam mendico feliciter perpetuoque merear letari; Quem enim dominus suscipiet ex merito omnes peccauimus . et eius gloriosissima misericordia indigemus . quam ipse dominus nobis omnibus largiri dignetur . tuis pater Nicolae continuis intercessionibus per.

V.—Sanctissime et inuicte agonitheta et electe pontifex Christi Nicolae supplex totoque corporis et animæ nisu atque intentu ad te confugio perperditus facinorum ponderibus et ad té confidentem de mente intende² . peccaui . impie egi . omniumque uiarum⁴domini' atque propositi et ordinis nostri prevaricator extiti . uia mea inquam in conspectu domini peruersa est . Cecidit atque debilitata est anima mea in perditione iniquitatum mearum concupiscentia intemperans . libidine impatiens . superbia . inuidia . æbrietates . gula . periurium . ira' mendacium inserens . scurilitas atque inmunditia mentis et corporis contaminauerunt⁵ uitam meam . Contaminatus sum uisu . auditu . gusta . odoratu . et tactu; Qua propter deprecor te domine . ut sicut tres uirgines liberasti a nefario opere stupri . et uelut illos tréstralitates² innoxios morti addictos a iugulo impio eruisti . ita sanctis

¹ Altered to "peccatricem" by writing overline in a later hand.

² Sic MS.

³ Altered to "famule tue" by adding *e* over the last letter of each word.

⁴ Altered to "concedat", with *e* expuncted, and *at* over the letter.

⁵ "Contamiuit", originally, MS.

intercessionibus tuis liberari merear a malis que animam et corpus meum subuertant ipso largiente. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto per.¹

The other font, which was in one of the Canons' gardens, and is now in the north transept of the Cathedral, is of Purbeck marble, early type, ornamented in flat relief. Height, 2 ft. 9 in.; four square side, 2 ft. 4 in.; diam. of bowl, 1 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; depth of bowl, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Mr. Baxter exhibited a printed mug bearing a view of the cast-iron bridge over the Wear at Sunderland, 1790. Mr. Marriage exhibited a Roman vase of spherical body and short circular mouth, recently exhumed. Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following:—

THE HOG'S HEAD: THE NUPTIAL CUP OF SUSSEX.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

At some unnoted period a would-be poet, who no doubt fancied himself a second Anacreon, composed the following *epithalamium*:

“Bring out the old hog’s head, and fill to the brim,
And drain to the health of the bride;
And ne’er let this custom of yore be forgot,
Nor toast to the fair one denied;
And when the glad honeymoon’s over and past,
And bride to her home doth return,
Pray let her remember the hog’s head we quaff,
And friendship of youth never spurn.
Then fill the old hog’s head,—a health to the bride;
May joy and good fortune be e’er on her side.”

Rude and homely as these lines appear, they seem to grasp and set forth nearly all that is now known of an old Sussex nuptial cup and obsolete nuptial custom.

Everyone is familiar with the word “hogshead” as the denomination of a large cask, of varying capacity; but few beyond the bounds of Sussex, and, indeed, in our day few within its bounds, seem to have heard of a drinking-goblet so entitled, though some perhaps remember that Gulliver, in his *Travels*, tells how the Liliputians “flung up one of their largest hogsheads”, and how he “drank it off, for it did not hold half-a-pint”. Why a great cask should be called a hogshead has never been rightly explained, but the origin of the title of the Sussex cup is obvious enough, it being in the form of the head of a large *Sus*. The mystery which attaches to it is why its use should be specially reserved for the guests at the wedding feast to drink the health of the bride. The vessel, like the “loving cup”, was always of ample proportions, and, like the *Rhyton* of the Greeks, the *Futile* and

¹ Titus, D. xxvi, ff. 76-79.

Obba of the Romans, and Hounds' Head Goblets of the modern sportsmen, when once filled must be emptied before it could be set down. The Sussex hogshead was made of both metal and earthenware. I have seen a fine, large silver cup of this type; and a friend tells me that among the old pewter vessels long preserved in a farm-house at Elsted, in Sussex, was a large drinking-cup in the shape of a boar's head.

At the sale of the collection of pottery and porcelain of J. J. Bagshawe, at Wellington Street, April 1875, lot 43 contained "a Sussex pig, filled at weddings, a 'hogshead' being drunk to the bride's health"; and in the same rooms was sold, on May 22nd, 1891, the effects of the late William Edkins of Bristol, one item in lot 205 being "a curious jug, formed as a pig, once used at weddings, made at Rye, Sussex."

We thus get at a few mementos of an all but forgotten custom, but these mementos in no way throw a light on the reason of the adoption of the quaint form for the nuptial goblet. We all know that the boar's head was a grand dish at Oxford, on Christmas Day, but the hogshead cup was to be drained at every wedding and on any day throughout the year. Swine were sacred to Bacchus, but the god of the grape had not much to do with nuptials; and no great stress can be laid on the fact that swine were sacrificed in honour of Juno, the patroness of marriage: for the worship of neither Juno nor Bacchus was confined to Sussex, and we must look for some local tradition to explain the origin of the local custom to which attention has now been directed.

Mr. Birch read a paper entitled "A Recent Discovery in Rome in Connection with Mythology and Symbolism in Britain", by Miss Russell, which, it is hoped, will be printed hereafter.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 4TH MAY 1892.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman ordered the distribution of the ballot-sheet, and appointed Mr. Langdon and Mr. Macmichael scrutators to examine the same after the usual interval. Mr. Wyon then said:

Before proceeding to read my Report as Treasurer, I wish, as Chairman of the Annual Meeting, briefly to mention that since this time last year our society has been strengthened by the accession of the following members as Associates:

His Grace the Archbishop of York, D.D.

Robert C. Bush, Esq.

Thomas L. Bush, Esq.

Evan Carpenter, Esq.

J. Shewell Corder, Esq.

F. G. Fletcher, Esq.

Henry Fairfax Harvey, Esq.

F. G. Hogg, Esq.

John Larkin, Esq.

F. D. Lindley, Esq.

J. Carlile McCoan, Esq.

Captain C. J. McCoan

P. P. Palfrey, Esq.

E. J. Renant, Esq.

Rev. W. Slater Sykes, M.A.

We have also had the satisfaction of adding the names of the following gentlemen to our list of Honorary Corresponding Members :

A. E. Clarke, Esq.

Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck.

J. Curtis, Esq.

Ernest R. Dawe, Esq.

J. M. Jones, Esq.

J. Robertson, Esq.

G. H. Rowbottom, Esq.

Stewart F. Wells, Esq.

Rev. Wm. Slater Sykes, M.A.

W. H. K. Wright, Esq.

George C. Yates, Esq., F.S.A.

At the same time we have to deplore the loss of various members through death. Amongst the many whom we have thus lost I would briefly mention the names of Dr. CARPENTER of Croydon, the well-known and energetic sanitary and social reformer, whose place in our Society, I am glad to say, has been filled by his son, Evan Carpenter, Esq.; W. ROOFE, Esq., who has been an Associate since 1877, and who joined the Council in 1890—a diligent attendant at our meetings, whose face and evident interest in all the proceedings of this Association were well known to those who habitually gather together in these rooms; and WILLIAM FREDERICK LAXTON, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., who joined this Association in 1884, and was appointed Treasurer in 1890, and Vice-President in the following year—a regular attendant at the meetings of the society, he was ever ready with his advice at the Council meetings, and contributed by his personal activity to the more efficient

administration of the finances which has been effected within the last two years. His death, which took place quite suddenly in June last, was much felt by the Council, and by them deeply deplored.

Since then, in January this year, the Association has sustained a further loss by the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A. Mr. Morgan joined the Association in 1845, and from early times became a regular contributor of papers to its *Proceedings*. So numerous, indeed, have these been, that the references to them fill many columns of the index of our *Journal*. In the year 1875 he was elected Honorary Treasurer, a position which he continued to fill, to the great advantage of the Association, until 1890, when, owing to failing strength, he felt himself obliged to retire from that position. No one has more thoroughly identified himself with this Association, or contributed to its advancement more than Mr. Morgan, whose varied knowledge of antiquities, especially of all subjects relating to the Roman occupation of Britain, was very great. But beyond this he endeared himself to all the members of the society with whom he was brought into personal contact by his winning courtesy and genial kindness, which makes his loss amongst us most deeply deplored.

The Chairman then proceeded to read

THE TREASURER'S REPORT, 4TH MAY, 1892.

The balance-sheet which it is my duty to lay before you to-day has been prepared by our Sub-Treasurer, and carefully examined both by the Auditors and myself. Its perusal by the Associates will, I believe, be a cause of congratulation; but will, at the same time, show the need of continued vigilance and care in the administration of the society's funds. The first item to which I would call attention is the one entered last of all: "Balance at Bank, 31st December (1891), £247 10s. 2d." From this, however, must be deducted the sum of £163 15s. 6d. for liabilities outstanding at that date. There is then left a nett amount in favour of the society of £83 14s. 8d., which, as compared with the figures of the preceding year, when there was an adverse balance against the Association of £38 5s. 4d., shows a change in the financial position of the society which is certainly gratifying. Not since the 31st December 1884—that is to say, seven years ago—has the balance sheet shown so large a surplus in favour of the Association.

Before examining the details of the receipts I desire to submit a brief table of some items of income, such as a former Treasurer used to lay before you every five years. By some oversight it was omitted last year. I now venture to supply it. In one column are shown the receipts from subscriptions, life-compositions, and entrance-fees, and in another column the proceeds of the Congresses:—

<i>Subscriptions, etc.</i>				<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Congresses.</i>				<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1886	...	...	...	375	18	0	...	...	...	30	1	0	
1887	...	...	...	347	8	0	...	...	...	Loss			
1888	...	...	...	283	10	0	...	...	...	103	8	1	
1889	...	...	...	289	16	8	...	...	...	32	8	10	
1890	...	...	...	261	9	0	...	...	...	5	1	7	
				<hr/>							<hr/>		
				5)	1558	1 8	...	...	...	170	19	6	
				<hr/>			Deduct 1887 Loss				8	10	10
				<hr/>							<hr/>		
				£	311	12 4					<hr/>		
				<hr/>							5)	162	8 8
				<hr/>							<hr/>		
											£	32	9 9

From 1845 to 1885—that is to say, for forty preceding years—the average receipts under the heading of subscriptions, etc., were a little over £333 per annum. It appears, therefore, that during the five years 1886 to 1890, the income under this heading being only a little over £311 per annum, there was a decrease of £22 a year. I am happy to be able to report that our receipts from this source during last year amounted to £333 7s. 6d. This certainly is an encouraging fact. But I would take this opportunity of reminding the Association that the past year has been one which has proved remarkably fatal to many people, and, like all other societies, our Association has had cause to grieve over the loss of many of our Associates. Thus, at the commencement of last year, our published list showed 335 ordinary members, whilst the list at the beginning of this year shows only 321 ordinary members. There is therefore serious need for the active services of all our Associates to introduce new members to the Association, if this item in our income is to be maintained at the amount it reached last year; and with a smaller amount we ought not to be satisfied.

Turning to the item of receipts from Congresses, I find that, from one cause or another the proceeds of these useful and pleasant expeditions have for some years been a diminishing quantity. Looking back a few years, it appears that the following are the average annual receipts under this head :

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
1873 to 1875	130	19	7	per annum.
1876 to 1880	76	4	1	„ „
1881 to 1885	53	19	5	„ „
1886 to 1890	32	9	9	„ „

It is gratifying, therefore, to find that last year the amount received was £47 18s. 10d. Permit me here to remark that the conduct of last year's Congress at York was placed in the hands of our Honorary Secretaries, Mr. Birch and Mr. Brock, who also conducted the Congress at Glasgow in 1888; the average proceeds of those two Congresses were £83 16s. 5d. each. The proceeds of all the Congresses from 1881

down to the present time (with the two exceptions just stated), when other arrangements prevailed, produced an average not exceeding £36 10s. 10d. per annum. The Association will therefore be glad to know that the Honorary Secretaries have been requested to undertake the arrangements of the Congress to be held this year at Cardiff. It is to be hoped that the members of the Association may muster there in such force as not only to add to the interest of the proceedings, but also to secure a good financial result for the benefit of the society.

During the past twelve months our expenditure has been very considerably reduced as compared with former years, as will be seen from the following particulars of amounts paid or liabilities incurred during the last twelve years:

	£	s.	d.
1880	449	7	6
1881	400	2	1
1882	416	9	1
1883	422	11	2
1884	377	8	8
1885	420	9	3
1886	458	0	4
1887	419	9	3
1888	415	15	4
1889	399	12	10
1890	340	7	8
1891	298	1	6
	<hr/>		
	12)	4817	14 8
	<hr/>		
Average	£401	9	6

It will thus be seen that the expenditure for the last two years has been very much below the average, and especially that for the year just closed. This has been owing to a most searching examination made by the Council into the subject about two years ago, when various alterations with a view to economy were suggested; which (thanks in a large measure to the activity and zeal of our late Treasurer, Mr. Laxton) have been carried out. The saving effected by many of these alterations may, I trust, be continued for many years to come, but the very low amount of expenditure cannot be permanently reckoned upon.

Upon one point the Council are fully resolved, and that is to stint no outlay necessary to maintain the high character to which the *Journal* of the Association has attained.

There is also another object to which, as Treasurer, I shall always have regard, and that is the formation of a fund to represent the amounts paid in as life-compositions. Of course there is a stock of publications, by the sale of which during the last five years we have

received upwards of £35 per annum. This, if capitalised, would show an asset in favour of the Association of a very substantial amount. But, as Treasurer, I consider it my duty to urge upon the Association the propriety of investing part of their income annually as a permanent fund for the benefit of the society.

In conclusion I would merely remark that whilst great care and watchfulness are needed in the administration of the funds of the Association, with the balance-sheet of last year before us we may well be hopeful for the future.

ALLAN WYON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Mr. Mould moved, and Mr. Compton seconded, the adoption of the Treasurer's Report, which was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was rendered to the Auditors for their services.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read :

THE SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR 1891-92.

The Hon. Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the past year, 1891-92.

1. During the past year a number of works have been presented to the library. The action of the Library Sub-Committee will determine the future of these and other books of the Association.

2. Thirty-six of the more important papers read at the recent Congress held at Oxford, or during the progress of the session held in London, have been printed in the *Journal*, 1891, which is illustrated with several Plates, some of which have been wholly or in part contributed by the liberality of our friends and Associates, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf.

3. The Hon. Secretaries are glad to announce that they have in hand several papers relating to the York Congress, and others read in London, which have been accepted by the Council for publication and illustration in the *Journal* as circumstances will permit. They desire it to be more generally known by authors of papers that their papers should be transmitted to the Editor as soon as convenient after being read before the Association, in view of their publication in the *Journal* when accepted by the Council.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH } *Hon. Secs.*
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK }

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DECEMBER 1891.

RECEIPTS.

Balance at Bank, 1st January . . .	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions . . .	113	4	10
Entrance-fees . . .	261	19	6
Life-compositions . . .	13	13	0
	57	15	0
Sale of publications, etc. . .	38	4	8
Index . . .	0	10	6
Proceeds of York Congress . . .	38	15	2
	47	18	10

£533 6 4

EXPENDITURE.

Liabilities outstanding for 1890, paid off . . .	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> . . .	185	15	6
Illustrations to ditto, £20 12s.; less donation from Mr. Proud, £5 . . .	15	12	0
Miscellaneous printing and advertising . . .	201	7	6
Delivery of <i>Journals</i> . . .	8	11	0
Rent and salaries . . .	11	2	9
Stationery, postage, and carriage of antiquities . . .	63	9	0
Fire insurance premium, 7 years to Jan. 1898 . . .	10	1	3
Balance at Bank, 31st December . . .	3	10	0
Less printing account unpaid . . .	163	15	6

Nett balance in favour of Association . . . 83 14 8

£533 6 4

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) J. H. MACMICHAEL }
O. MARRIAGE } *Auditors.*

15th March 1892.

Mr. Allen then moved, and Mr. Patrick seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously: "That the Secretaries' Report be adopted, and that the best thanks of the Association be presented to Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., and E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., the Honorary Secretaries, for their unremitting attention to the affairs of the Association during the past year."

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Compton, one of the members of a sub-committee appointed to draw up a revision of the rules of the Association, to read the draft rules recommended by the Council. This was done, and the Chairman then read each rule separately, which, after discussion, and in some cases slight alteration, was agreed to, with the result that the rules now stand as printed and issued with this number of the *Journal*.

Before the completion of the revision, however, the time for keeping the ballot open having expired, the papers were examined by the Scrutators and one of the Secretaries, when it was found that the following appointments had been made:—

President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.

Vice-Presidents.

Ec officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE, D.C.L.; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY, D.D.; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, D.D.; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.
ARTHUR CATES, Esq.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.
J. EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A.

A. W. FRANKS, Esq., C.B., D.Litt.,
M.A., F.R.S., P.S.A.
J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.
GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.
ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Treasurer.

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.G.S.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

Council.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.
 THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.
 ALGERNON BRENT, Esq., F.R.G.S.
 R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,
 F.S.A.
 R. HOWLETT, Esq., F.S.A.
 W. E. HUGHES, Esq.
 A. G. LANGDON, Esq.

RICHARD LLOYD, Esq.
 J. T. MOULD, Esq.
 A. OLIVER, Esq.
 GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.
 W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
 R. E. WAY, Esq.
 BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

Auditors.

O. MARRIAGE, Esq.

| J. H. MACMICHAEL, Esq.

A vote of thanks was rendered to the Scrutators.

After the ballot had been declared, the revision of the Rules was continued until all the Rules were finally settled and unanimously adopted by the Meeting.

The lists of Honorary Corresponding Members, and of Local Members of Council, were then submitted to and considered by the Meeting, and unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman having been passed, the Meeting adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH MAY 1892.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following were elected members :—

Mrs. Laxton, Hartington House, Blomfield Terrace, Uxbridge Road.
 Basil Lawrence, Esq., Strathray Gardens, Belsize Park, N.W.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents :—

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 5th Ser., No. 34.

" " " Smithsonian Report, U.S. National Museum, 1889.
 " " " "Památky Archæologicke, etc.", V. Praze, 1890,
 1891.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a collection of bone relics from Cannon Street, chiefly prehistoric, and from other places.

The Chairman exhibited a fine copy of the English Bible of 1638, with Common Prayer, genealogies, etc., bound in an elaborate cover of needlework and silver thread, formerly the property of Isaac Allibone, Lady Napier, Rebecca Gordon, Harry Grover of Hemel Hempstead, and Montagu Grover of Boveney Court, Buckinghamshire.

Mr. Wells exhibited a collection of prehistoric relics, and read the following note :—

While making a short stay at Maidenhead, Berks, I was fortunate enough to inspect the operation of cutting a watercourse on the Ray Park Estate. Bones of various animals, especially those of the red deer, were discovered, also a number of flint implements. The ground had never been disturbed, and was originally a bog. The depth attained was between 7 ft. and 8 ft., passing through 4 ft. of clay, 2 ft. of peat and about 1 ft. of gravel. One very fine antler of red deer was found, measuring 2 ft. 2½ ins. in length, and 4 ins. in girth.

The top part of a human skull was found, also a tooth; the fangs had turned black, but the enamel was beautifully preserved. Among a number of flints discovered I have placed for your inspection those which are thought to be most interesting.

No. 1 is a specimen of an axe, which was polished in the usual way, and then re-flaked. Mr. William Cunnington, F.G.S., tells me he has never seen a similar specimen.

2, 3, 4, are interesting knives, showing distinctly the barble concussion. The dark colour is the result of lying in the peat.

5, is a core.

6, a very pretty scraper.

7, is an implement that Mr. Cunnington says was used as a hammer, and not, as many might suppose, a cutting tool.

The two teeth are those of ox and deer.

The horn shown, which I believe is red deer, has distinct signs of having been used as a pick; and I would point out a cut about 3 ins. from the root, which is by no means recent. You will also observe some vegetable growth in the cut.

Two bones have been cut and used as tools; one is very polished, through use. This large bone is that of the horse. It is 14 ins. in length, and was found in the gravel 10 ft. below the surface.

Three cockles from the peat are interesting as showing the inhabitants eat shell-fish. Hazel-nuts were plentiful throughout the peat. One piece of pottery was found which is ancient British.

Having put before you these few facts I ask you to draw your own conclusions as to their antiquity and other interesting points.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of miscellaneous objects from the network of an Egyptian mummy, including specimens of the sacred eye, the *tat*, or milometer, the *ankh*, or symbol of life, the obelisk, pillow, hawks' wings, beads, etc., also three inscribed figurines of Osiris in blue porcelain, a bronze ibex, and an imperfect statuette.

Mr. Davis read a paper on "Merchants' Marks", which was illustrated by a very large and representative collection of drawings and rubbings of these devices.

Mr. W. de G. Birch drew attention to the origin of the banner shaped and figure-of-four shaped marks to the Agnus Dei of St. John Baptist.

Thanks were unanimously accorded to Mr. Davis, and to Messrs. Barrett, Croft, and Frost, to whom the Association is indebted for the preparation of the illustrations of this paper.

WEDNESDAY, 1ST JUNE 1892.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following Associate was reported :—

Mrs. Bernard Trappes, Clayton Hall, Accrington

Rev. Le Bœuf, Vicar of Crowland, was elected an Hon. Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "Report, 1890", and "U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountains Region, by J. W. Powell, in Charge," vol. vi, 1890.

To the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for "Proceedings", 1890-91.

To the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, for "Transactions", Part I, vol. xiii, 1892; and "Notitia Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Carliolensis", etc. By Hugh Todd, D.D. 1891.

To the Powys-Land Club, for "Collections Historical and Archæological Relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xxvi, Part I, 1892.

To the Royal Archæological Institute, for "Archæological Journal", vol. xlix, No. 193, 1892.

The Hon. Secretaries announced that the arrangements for the coming Congress at Cardiff were now so advanced that the Vice-Presidents and the members of the local committee had been elected, with power to add to their number.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., exhibited some curious examples of turned alabaster, of ancient Greek workmanship, which had been removed from the site of the city of Cyzicus.

Mr. Barrett exhibited some illustrations of the armorial bearings of the Trinity House Company, which are derived from the arms of Sir T. Spreat, the first Master, who died A.D. 1541, and who is buried in Stepney Church, where his monument still remains. He also read a history of the Company, which he had traced from the Public Records, nearly all the documents having been destroyed by fire in 1714. It is

hoped that this lost history, thus recovered, may appear in a future *Journal*.

In the discussion which followed the Chairman referred to the frequent references which exist in various parish registers of collections made for the recovery of captives in the power of the pirates of the African Coast in the Mediterranean, known generally in England as the Barbary corsairs. In the Clapham registers such entries are very numerous.

The Chairman also exhibited a collection of flint implements of palæolithic and neolithic origin, one of which, carbonated from long exposure, he had found at Stonehenge.

Mr. Earle Way exhibited a collection of greybeards, found at Southwark in recent years. There were also two or three examples of the earlier form of this common and well-known jug, before the head and broad beard or the cartouches had been added. Some of the specimens were in very good preservation. Mr. Barrett described a very beautiful Gres de Flandres jug of blue and grey patterns, having an inscription in Dutch, and dated 1691.

A paper was then read by Mr. Macmichael on "the Greybeard", which, it is hoped, will appear in a future *Journal*. The paper was illustrated by a series of drawings of various cartouches found on the vessels, which represent for the most part the arms of the cities and towns of the Low Countries where the jugs were made. Several Bellarmine's were exhibited, one of which was curious in having the device of the Sacred Heart, the three nails, I. H. S., and various small markings, supposed to be the blood-drops of the Crucifixion. The usual head and square beard of the obnoxious cardinal appear equally on this specimen as on the others, although the device would warrant the belief that the potter was a Catholic.

The proceedings of the session were brought to a close at this meeting, and the Chairman formally announced the beginning of the new session in November next.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Collectanea Cantiana. By GEO. PAYNE, F.S.A., F.L.S., Local Secretary for Kent of the Society of Antiquaries, London, Honorary Secretary of the Kent Archæological Society, Honorary Correspondent of the British Archæological Association, etc.—The author has recorded in this work a detailed account of the numerous archæological discoveries belonging to the British, Roman, and Saxon eras, which have been made by himself in Kent from the year 1865 until the present time, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Sittingbourne, Kent. The majority of the remains were exhumed by him or under his personal supervision, and formed the contents of his private museum, which have since been ceded to the nation, and may now be seen in the British Museum. The work will be fully illustrated with engravings of the principal objects discovered. The antiquity of many of the roads in the district (which have been personally traversed) will be treated of, and their relation to surrounding discoveries duly set forth. The area covered by the author's researches includes that portion of the county lying between Canterbury and Chatham Hill on the one hand, and from the Great Chalk Range to the sea-board on the other, together with notices of explorations along the northern edge of the Weald of Kent from Holwood to Eastell Park. These discoveries have already received special notice in *Archæologia Cantiana*, the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, the British Archæological Association, and the *Collectanea Antiqua* of Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. The work will be printed by subscription; crown 8vo., cloth, price ten shillings, which will be raised to fifteen shillings after publication. Subscribers' names should be sent to the Author, The Precinct, Rochester; or to Mr. W. J. Parrett, *East Kent Gazette* Office, Sittingbourne.

Glamorgan Deeds: Cartæ et alia Munimenta quæ ad Dominium de Glamorgan pertinent. Vol. i, A.D. 1102-1350 (1885); vol. ii, A.D. 1348-1721 (1890); vol. iii, A.D. 1441-1300 (1891). By GEO. T. CLARK, F.S.A. (Privately printed).—Mr. Clark, whose descriptive notices of ancient castles in England and Wales form so well-known a feature in archæological publications, has rendered an exceedingly valuable service to his county by carefully seeking out, transcribing, annotating, and editing, in this work, all the available documentary material which is likely to throw light upon the mediæval history of the demesne of Glamorgan.

The documents are derived from many sources. Among public institutions, the Public Record Office and the British Museum have yielded many hitherto unpublished texts. Among private owners, the papers of the late Mr. G. G. Francis of Swansea, the family records of Dr. J. C. Stradling Carne of St. Donat's Castle, of Mr. Jones of Fomon Castle, of Sir H. Hussey Vivian, and the important monastic and family charters belonging to Miss Talbot of Margam (representative of Sir Rice Mansell), and several others, may be cited for having contributed a large proportion towards the total number of one thousand and sixty-five original texts ranging between the years 441 and 1721.

Mr. Clark's fourth volume, which will carry on the new series begun in the third, will be looked for with much delight. In the preface to the first volume the author points out that he has prepared a considerable mass of notes and comments upon the texts, which forms the ground for a history of the Norman lordship of Glamorgan, and regrets that the subject is not one in which the present inhabitants of the modern county show any great interest. This may well be so; but even if it is, the failing may be, we hope, considered as more than compensated by the general desire which archæologists now feel to know more about matters for which the present publication has already prepared their appetite. We hope, therefore, that these notes will be published.

The history of the county of Glamorgan has always been a favourite subject of speculative curiosity. Anomalous in its settlement from the first, it is divided naturally into two great districts, the upper or northern half, mountainous, sparsely inhabited, rude, and restless; the lower or littoral, fertile, well cultivated, inhabited by a more civilised and tractable population, for which condition probably much is due to the humanising influence of the monastic and ecclesiastical institutions which had sprung up in their midst.

The lordships of Glamorgan, Kylvæ, and Gower, have left their mark on the history of Wales. The representatives of the older landholders, such as the Sturmi, Bonvile, Grammus, Franklein, Lovel, Corneli, Penres, Le Norreys, Turberville, Lageles, Coch, Cole, Clare, Braose, Moxel or Mansel, De la Bere, De la Mare, and numerous others; the flourishing and powerful Monasteries of Margam, Neath, and Ewenny; the important towns of Cardiff, Swansea, Kenfig; the ecclesiastical centre at Llandaff, with its early troubles under Bishop Urban and the Bishop of Hereford,—these various elements have not failed to render up, under Mr. Clark's hands, due account of themselves, and combine to make the collection not only of the greatest possible interest to the general as well as to the local antiquaries, but also to stimulate research and invite the formation of theory to account for the descent of much of the property of which these ancient texts

are really the title-deeds, and to enable the genealogist to sketch out the pedigrees of almost all the known families of the county down to the sixteenth century.

To write the history only of the western peninsula of the county, or Gowerland, with its varying fortunes, culminating in the remarkable charter of privileges granted by Braose, its chief lord, early in the fourteenth century, would have been an impossible task prior to the publication of these volumes. Again, the history of Margam was unsatisfactory and fragmentary until Mr. Clark first drew attention to it in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. The charters, however, which are preserved among the Harleian collections in the British Museum, when set side by side with those in possession of the owner of the site, furnish enough material to construct pretty fairly the general history of what was once one of the most noble Cistercian Abbeys of Wales.

In the same manner the present work contains texts which throw new light upon the history of Neath and Ewenny, and even upon Llandaff itself. The credit which attaches to the preparation and publication of a series of county records such as this may, we hope, serve to stimulate others to imitate Mr. Clark's example. Brecknockshire, for example, is at present very poorly represented by any collection of printed deeds, and the same may be said, with more or less truth, for every county in Wales. A few years ago a small collection relating to Pembroke was published in our *Journal*, on the occasion of our Tenby Congress. With this exception we know of no other similar work. When it is considered that it is upon collections of early deeds that the historian and genealogist chiefly rely for trustworthy notices of events of local influence, and the descent of families, it will readily be conceded that it is no thankless task that Mr. Clark has performed in so able and conscientious a manner.

Archæological Congress at Moscow.—The Society of Naturalists of Moscow is organising two international congresses of—(1), prehistoric anthropology; and (2), archæology, in that city; which will take place—(1), 13-20, and (2), 22-30 August. It is hoped that the attendance of delegates from kindred societies in England, at either of these meetings, may be facilitated; and we have much pleasure in inviting those of our members who desire to be present, either as delegates or as ordinary members, to communicate with the Hon. Secretaries.

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SOME MEMORIALS OF WANDSWORTH, SURREY.

BY G. PATRICK, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A.

(Read 19th February 1890.)

OF the people who dwelt in the district of Wandsworth in prehistoric times there are some evidences in the interesting collection of weapons and other implements kindly lent to me to illustrate this paper by Mr. Lawrence of Wandsworth town, who discovered most of them himself, and has promised to give the Meeting some description of them. They consist of arrow-heads, knives, scrapers, and other implements of flint, found on St. Ann's Hill and elsewhere in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, and are probably relics of that far-off time when the mammoth and other wild animals roamed over the district, and the river Thames extended, in a broad sheet of water, over the low-lying lands of Fulham and Putney, Wandsworth and Battersea.

You may also see, at the British and other Museums, vestiges of a later age in the local history of Wandsworth; of a period, probably, not long anterior to the coming of the Romans, bearing mute but eloquent testimony to the belief that the district was frequented by the Britons; if, indeed, they had not established settlements here. These consist of the usual implements of war and the chase, instruments of domestic use, and objects of personal adornment, such as are generally associated with this early race; and they comprise such things as bronze celts and palstaves, bronze swords and

spear-heads, pins of bronze used for personal adornment, of peculiar, and occasionally of very elegant shape, many of which have been found in almost perfect condition. These relics have been found in the bed of the Thames at Wandsworth, at the mouth of the Wandle, and in the river itself, not far from the High Street. Others, of similar character, have been discovered between Wandsworth and Battersea.

These discoveries indicate that the Britons frequented this neighbourhood, and it is not unlikely that in those old days a path or trackway may have existed (perhaps in the line of the present highway), which led up to the ancient encampment, existing, until within a few years ago, on Wimbledon Common, locally known as the "Rounds" and "Cæsar's Camp". This encampment was acknowledged by antiquaries to have been a British earthwork, although very probably occupied by Cæsar's forces. It is recorded also that there formerly existed upon the Common many British tumuli, some of which bordered the high-road to Kingston; but the last of them were removed in the last century to provide material for road-mending.

Some antiquaries have ventured to suggest that in the name "Mount Nod", which distinguishes the Huguenot Cemetery on the East Hill, we have a survival of an ancient British place of worship; and our Associate, Mr. Grover, reminds us, in alluding to this subject, that Lysons describes Nudd as the British Pluto, or *Setting Sun*; an altar, therefore, to that god may well have been erected on that spot, which would at that day have commanded so extensive a view of the country to the westward: local names often keeping alive memories of past events when every other trace has for ever vanished.

I am not aware of any objects of Roman date having been actually found at Wandsworth, but only a few miles away, in the neighbourhood of Kingston Hill, many relics of that people have been discovered, including the foundations of buildings; and it is conjectured with considerable probability that the Roman station of Tamesa was situated close by. The Roman legions, as history tells us, were composed of many nationalities, and were distinguished by the names of the various countries from which

they were recruited. During the long period of the occupation, therefore, they must have very considerably augmented the general population of the country as they settled down as colonists.

Now it is found that the names of rivers are in many instances derived from the names of the earliest settlers upon their banks. I do not, then, think it an improbable suggestion that our river Wandle should have derived its name from a legion of Vandals, who we know were stationed in England in considerable numbers. If we allow this to have been the case, the name Wandsworth is easily derived; for as "worth", in the Anglo-Saxon (according to Lysons), signifies a village or a shore, so to these later invaders the place would become known as "Vandalsworth", or the Vandals' village. The Rev. Isaac Taylor, in *Words and Places*, says "worth" denotes a place warded or protected.

The first known recorded mention of Wandsworth in the long story of the centuries carries us back to that remote period when the county of Surrey formed a portion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex. According to Mr. W. H. Stevenson, in a letter to *The Academy* of February 1888, "there is extant a very early mention of Wandsworth in a contemporary charter of A.D. 693. It is in *Domesday Book*, however, that we find the first descriptive account of Wandsworth. At the time of the Conqueror's survey it was held by one William Fitzcuculf; previously, however, in the days of King Edward the Confessor, it had been held by six socmen (*socmanni*), who are described as being free to remove whither they would. In speaking of this class of tenants Mr. Justice Stephens says, in his *Commentary on the Laws of England*, "these *socmanni* are supposed to have been derived from the superior class of Anglo-Saxon carls, and were perfectly free from all marks of villeinage. They are regarded as the root of a noble plant, the free socage tenants, or English yeomanry."

In the Survey Wandsworth was assessed at twelve hides. The ladies, perhaps, may like to know that a hide was so much land as could be ploughed with one plough, and was variously estimated, according to local usage, at from 60 to 80 or 100 acres. There were two halls, and

the arable land consisted of 4 carucates. Anculf had this land after he received the shrievalty; but the men of the hundred said they never saw seal or livery, which looks as though Master Anculf had obtained it illegally. There were $2\frac{1}{2}$ carucates in demesne, and five villeins, and 22 acres of meadow. The whole manor, at the time of King Edward, was rated at 110s., which would be about equivalent to £16 of our money. It was afterwards reduced to 50s. Several tenants are mentioned in *Domesday* as holding smaller portions in King Edward's time,—as Eldred, who held 3 hides; Walter, the huntsman, 1 hide; and others.

William the Conqueror appears to have taken this manor away from Anculf, for he gave it to the Abbot and monks of Westminster Abbey, and in 1291 their property at Wandsworth was valued at £17. In the Survey of Battersea, which was also held by the Abbot of Westminster, it is stated that the "toll of Wandlesorde" yielded £6 to the Abbot. This is supposed to have been the receipts derived from a ferry.

The name Wandsworth is variously spelt in the old chronicles. In *Domesday Book* it is given as Wandeles-orde, Wendeles-orde, and Wandes-orde. Other writers spell it Wennesworth, Wansworth, and Wandlesworth. Brayley says there were four reputed manors wholly or in part in this parish, viz., Battersea and Wandsworth Down, Dunsfold, and Allfarthing. The latter seems to be a corruption, and is suggestive of a colony of Northmen having at one time been established there. I have seen it once spelt Halverthing. These three names are still in use, as in Down Lodge, Dunsford Farm, and Allfarthing Lane.

Dunsford was held by the Abbot of Merton, and on the suppression of that Monastery became the property of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who sold it to Thomas Cromwell for £436 : 6 : 8. It afterwards passed into the hands of the famous (or infamous) Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and to Lord Burleigh, and thence to the Brodericks, the ancestors of the present Viscount Middleton, of which family many members, during the past two centuries, have been buried in the parish church.

I can find no record of the foundation of the church at

Wandsworth, but I think we may assume there was a church here in late Norman times, for one chronicle states that Richard Toclinc, or Toclincus, who was appointed Bishop of Winchester in 1173, appropriated the rectory to the Abbey of Westminster in 1189, paying 7s. 7½d. for procurations, and 2s. 1d. for synodals. The vicarage does not seem to have been endowed before 1249, and in 1291 the rectory was valued at 30 marks, and the vicarage at 10 marks; and Godfrey de Lucy, who succeeded him in the see, ordained that the monks should receive a pension annually, of 6 marks, out of the church revenues, so long as the vicar was left with sufficient for his own maintenance and the proper discharge of episcopal dues. In the twentieth year of Edward I the living was valued at 10 marks. After the dissolution of the monasteries the rectory and advowson were vested in the Crown, and Henry VIII annexed the former to the honour of Hampton Court. In the King's books the living is valued at £15 : 5 : 5.

The church is dedicated to All Saints, and the living is a vicarage. It was formerly in the deanery of Southwark and diocese of Winchester, but is now in the diocese of Rochester and deanery of Streatham.

Queen Elizabeth, in 1581, gave both the rectory and advowson to Edward Downing and Peter Ashton, but in 1731 a Mr. John Acworth, who then held them, sold the rectorial tithes to the Trustees of Marshall's Charity. His grandson, Thomas Acworth, continued to hold the advowson till his death in 1783. The living is now in the gift of the family of the late Vicar, the Rev. John Buckmaster, B.A.

A list of the vicars of this parish has been compiled by Mr. Cecil Davis. It is, however, incomplete, owing to the earlier Bishops' Registers having been lost; but the list commences as far back as 1306, Oct. 28, when Thomas de Sudbury was instituted to the living.

The architecture of an old church is often of considerable value towards elucidating the history of the parish itself; but here, unfortunately, we have no such advantage, for there are no architectural features of any interest remaining. The old building has entirely disappeared, with trifling exceptions, which I will indicate

directly. I am of opinion that the original church was but a small building, of late Norman architecture, consisting of nave and chancel only (probably under one roof), with a low, massive tower at the west end, and a vestry built out at the north side of the chancel; the nave being, no doubt, some feet wider than the tower. The old tower, in part, still stands (quite unknown to most people), concealed within its present casing of brickwork; and in the ringing-chamber the old masonry is still visible, together with the remains of the old angle-turret, much mutilated; while externally a small portion of the old masonry of the wall adjoining the tower at the north-west angle may yet be seen above the present vestry-roof. These are the only portions of the old building now remaining, above ground at any rate. There is a stone slab let into the flooring of the nave, which indicates definitely the position of the east wall of the chancel, when pulled down about one hundred and ten years ago.

The church, no doubt, underwent the usual vicissitudes of such buildings before it was altogether removed. For instance, there is in the British Museum an engraving by Chatelain, dated 1750, which shows the old church from the south-west, with a south aisle and high-pitched roof, with buttresses and gabled south porch; the whole, probably, an addition of the fourteenth century; but also showing two square dormer windows in the roof, which clearly must have been added at a much later period. A doorway is seen, which closely resembles that in the present west wall of this aisle, suggesting that it was attached to the old building about the same time as the windows in the roof were made, and was retained for the new work as we see it now. There is also seen in this wall a two-light and square-headed Tudor window beside this doorway. This engraving also shows the upper part of the tower as it was altered about 1630. I have seen a still later engraving showing the church as it now is, but the old tower still without the present casing of brickwork.

The church, as it now exists, only dates from the last century. The north aisle was the first part built, about 1725. In that year a deed was signed by John Acworth of Wandsworth, patron of the vicarage, which had rela-

tion to the building of this aisle. The pew-rents and the vaults were vested in the vicars of the church for ever.

In the years 1779 and 1780 further rebuilding was undertaken. In the latter year a church-rate was made, and five maiden ladies each advanced £300 to the churchwardens, which, with money otherwise procured, produced nearly £3,000, and the present building was erected. From the churchwardens' accounts there does not appear to have been any general contract, but each tradesman was paid directly for his own particular work, as their names and trades are given, with the amounts they each received. One item in the churchwardens' books of this period excites some pardonable archæological suspicion, viz., "Received for sundry *old woodwork sold* by the auctioneer, £11 : 2 : 6."

There are several monuments worthy of notice in the church, to persons locally celebrated, or who have made generous benefactions to the parish. The most conspicuous are the two mural monuments upon the east wall. They are both good specimens of a class of monument which became fashionable in the Elizabethan era. The one on the north is to the memory of Mrs. Susannah Powell, who died A.D. 1630. This lady left by her will, in 1627, a rent-charge of £22 16s., payable out of the rectorial tithes, upon trust, to be distributed to twenty-four poor widows of the parish, each to have 4*d.* in bread, and 4*d.* in money (twelve on one Sunday, and twelve on another), at the *north* door of the church; and £2 *per ann.* to apprentice a poor child yearly. This direction is still complied with. She is recorded to have been the daughter of Francis Hayward, Yeoman of the Guard to Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary and Elizabeth. Her husband, John Powell, was in the service of Queen Elizabeth, and the following inscription on his tomb records his service, viz.,—

" Under a stone within this place
Doth lie John Powell, who for the space
Of 30 years before his death
Did serve the Queen Elizabeth,
And to King James of worthy fame
For 9 years more he did the same;
And when the year of 74
Was gone, come to an end,
Into the hands of God above his soul he did commend."

The other monument is to the memory of an individual more widely known as "The Surrey Benefactor". His name was Henry Smith. He was a citizen and an Alderman of the City of London, and amassed a large fortune in his trade of a silversmith. The exact spot of his burial is unknown. Some fifty years ago the stone said to cover it was removed, but no trace of the coffin could be discovered. He was a native of Wandsworth, but appears to have been of humble birth, from his having left money to his own "poor kindred as were impotent and unable to help themselves". He was of a very charitable disposition, and left large sums of money to six other towns in the county besides Wandsworth, as is set forth in the inscription on the monument; the towns being Croydon, Kingston, Guildford, Dorking, Reigate, and Richmond, to each of which, as well as Wandsworth, he left £1,000. He also founded a fellowship at Cambridge for his own kindred. He is said by Aubrey and others (but upon no trustworthy authority) to have originally been a beggar, and to have been whipped as such through the parish of Mitcham. There is, however, nothing to justify such a statement.

There are several slabs and other memorials of the seventeenth century in the church, possessing local interest; but the oldest memorial, and the most curious of all, is the brass in the pavement of the nave (now unfortunately almost obliterated), of a figure in complete armour, of the fifteenth century. This brass is very interesting because it exhibits the *mace* worn on the right side, suspended from the waist-belt. All heavily armed men carried these weapons, but they were usually worn hung from the saddle-bow. It has been suggested that this brass commemorates the holder of the office of "Serjeant-at-Mace".

The monument upon the east wall, with the two marble busts (between that to Mrs. Powell and the organ), is to the memory of Sir Thomas Broderick and Katherine his wife.

The name of Broderick is an honoured name in Wandsworth, and the parish is greatly indebted to the benevolence of that family for some of its more valuable charities. In the years 1679 and 1680 Sir Allen Brode-

rick gave a considerable sum of money for the benefit of the poor, which was applied, in 1704, to the purchase of two-thirds of an estate at Willesden, the remainder being made up by other donations and benefactions. This estate was advantageously sold some years ago; but the proceeds are held in trust, and still devoted to their original purpose, and in proper proportion. The site and school-buildings in Putney Bridge Road were the gift, in 1848, of George Alan Broderick, Viscount Middleton.

On the west wall of the north aisle is a monument to the memory of Samuel Palmer, Esq., some time one of the surgeons, and afterwards Treasurer, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Born 1670, died 1738.

And higher up on the same wall, cut into by the gallery, is a monument to Ed. Barker, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, who was born in this parish in 1671, and died in 1759. This epitaph is inscribed upon the monument: "Reader, if you would inquire how he lived and died, be content with this answer, Not without faults, by the frailty of man; nor without repentance, by the grace of God."

The church and parish possess many charities of considerable value, which are carefully and wisely distributed. The parish records and churchwardens' accounts are very complete. The latter, commencing in 1545, date from that momentous period in the Church of England, the closing years of Henry VIII; a few years, from 1583 to 1590, only being missing. The Parish Registers date from 1603, and the minutes of the Vestry from 1729. There are also many deeds and documents relating to gifts of land and other property to the church and parish, the earliest dating from 1490. The church possessed land as early as 1234, because there is the record of a lawsuit about it; but there are no means of identifying it at the present day.

The churchwardens' accounts are full of interesting information illustrative of the past history of the parish. From a few items taken at random we find that in 1545 *kine were kept by the church*, and were let out to the inhabitants on hire, under sureties. We also gather that a brook flowed close under the boundary-wall of the churchyard, which was probably a branch of the Wandle,

as in 1567 there is an entry, "P^d to Thos. King for making a bridge at the east side of the churchyard, and *for taking down and sawing the May Pole*, 6s."

The year 1665 was a very mournful one in Wandsworth, for the plague appears to have raged very badly here, and numerous are the entries, both in the churchwardens' accounts and Registers, of the death of the inhabitants from that dread disease, the establishing of pest-houses, and the digging of plague-pits. One of these pits was situated upon the East Hill, and another was dug in the upper Richmond Road, close by the new Railway Station.

One item repeatedly met with in these accounts, even down to the early years of this century, reads curiously now-a-days. It is a payment for the destruction of hedgehogs, weasels, and other vermin. Another item is a payment for repairing the parish umbrella. This I take to have been the umbrella kept for the purpose of sheltering the parson when reading the Burial Service beside the grave. There was one kept in like manner at Bromley Church, Kent.

One of the vicars of this parish in the time of Henry VIII, together with his chaplain, a curate, and two other persons, were hanged and quartered at St. Thomas à Waterings on July 8th, 1539. It is supposed for denying the King's supremacy. He is said to have left his dying curse upon everything ecclesiastical connected with the parish.

Wandsworth is rich in historical associations. Situated as it is upon the highroad to the old royal Palace of Sheen, to Kingston, Guildford, and Portsmouth, it has often witnessed the passage of royalty. In 1388 Richard II and his Queen passed through on their way to London, upon which occasion a large body of the citizens rode out as far as Wandsworth to meet their Majesties. Henry VII, in 1507, paid several visits to Wandsworth. Queen Elizabeth was here more than once, and is said to have resided for a short time at the old houses now known as "The Gables", facing Wandsworth Common. To Queen Elizabeth Wandsworth owes its first bridge over the river Wandle, which was built at her expense in 1602. It could, however, only have been a slight con-

struction of wood, as it only took a few days to erect. Aubrey mentions it, under date 1673, in terms not too complimentary, calling it, indeed, "*the sink of the country*". Wandsworth is also associated with such celebrated historical names as Cardinal Wolsey, who rode out, and here met the Ambassador from the Emperor's court, with tidings of interest to him, in 1516. Thomas Cromwell, the famous Earl of Essex (reputed to have been born at Putney, the son of a blacksmith), is said to have fallen in love with a Wandsworth girl; who, however, jilted him; upon which he went abroad, I believe, to Antwerp, and returning some years afterwards he found her a widow; whereupon he married her, and they are said to have lived in a house which formerly stood upon the site of the present Wandsworth Railway Station.

As you are already aware, Wandsworth is very intimately connected with the Huguenots. They settled here in considerable numbers, and appear to have been amicably received by the inhabitants, and several of the trades and manufactures still carried on were introduced by them. It was here that the first steps were taken to establish a Presbyterian Church, in 1572, which was endorsed by the name of the "Orders of Wandsworth". An old engraving in the possession of a friend illustrates the formation of this assembly, and an old press-cutting attached to it, which records this curious doctrine, "that it was lawful to assassinate any man who opposed the Gospel"; which one Burchet endeavoured to carry out by assassinating Sir Christopher Hatton, who was believed to be no friend to the Puritans. He stabs another man in mistake, however, for which he was executed; and a proclamation was issued, by which they were frightened, and restrained from carrying such practices any further.¹

Flemish refugees also settled here, and established the trade or "mystery" of frying-pan making, Dutch Yard to this day preserving in its name the memory of these settlers.

Wandsworth was also noted for the manufacture of hats, and Stow mentions that many of these French

¹ *Hist. Collections*, p. 310; also Heylyn's, *Hist. of Presbytery*; see *Hone upon Stow*, p. 741.

refugees were engaged in that trade, and Weiss relates that the Cardinals of Rome had their hats from Wandsworth from the sixteenth to the middle of the last century. In connection with hat and cap making there is a curious ordinance of the Fullers' Company, quoted in *Memorials of London Life in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries*, by Thomas Riley, dated the 50th Edward III (1376), to the effect that "whereas the *hurers* of the said city are wont to full their caps in the mills at *Wandlessworth*, Old Ford, Stratford, and Enfield, where the said fullers full their cloths, it may please your very benign lordships that the said *hurers* shall not be allowed from henceforth to full in the same mills",¹ etc.

THE ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

Of the old houses of Wandsworth very few are now left. On the site of the present Police Station, on West Hill, there formerly stood a very quaint old place, traditionally said to have been frequented by Charles II when on hunting expeditions in the neighbourhood. It was afterwards known as "The Sword House", because the then owner, who had been an officer in the army, erected before it a kind of *chevaux de frise* of claymores and pikes which he had brought as trophies from the field of Culloden in 1745.

The Manor House of Allfarthing was taken down many years ago, and the houses on St. Ann's Hill built upon the gardens. In its later days it was used as a boarding-school, kept by a Mr. Wilkinson, the uncle of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and here he received his education.

There formerly existed a picturesque old house, near Wandsworth Station, known as "The Jews' House", and "Jews' Row" is still a local address.

A celebrity, whose name has found a place in the history of the reigns of two Kings, Edward IV and Henry VII, Jane Shore, is said to have lived in a house on Wandsworth Plain, the site of which is now known as "Armoury Yard"; so called from the store-house of the arms of the Wandsworth Volunteers in 1794.²

¹ The *hurers* were makers of *hures* or shaggy fur caps.

² Some few years ago I was exploring in the tower of the church when I discovered, hidden away in a cupboard formed out of what

In the old coaching days Wandsworth was noted for its inns, and for the many coaches which passed through the town. In this connection it is interesting to read in Carey's *Itinerary*, under date 1668, "the *Portsmouth Machine* left London by way of Vauxhall, Battersea, and Wandsworth, and so on to Putney Heath."

One fine old mansion, until quite recently existing on St. John's Hill, known as "The Manor House", has excited considerable attention from time to time, owing to several letters and articles in the papers respecting it, which led to a visit being paid to it by the Surrey Archæological Society in June 1889, when Mr. S. W. Kershaw read an exhaustive paper upon its history. There appears to be considerable doubt as to the original builder or owner of the house; but tradition relates that it was built by Charles II, and given by him to his niece, Anne, upon her marriage with Prince George of Denmark. It is also related that Sir Christopher Wren designed the house. Of this, however, Mr. Kershaw was unable to discover any documentary evidence to support the suggestion. The house was of the date of the latter part of the seventeenth century. Mr. Kershaw remarks that Princess Anne and her husband resided here for eighteen years previous to her accession to the throne. In one of the rooms, called "Queen Anne's Boudoir", there was a portrait on the ceiling of the Princess receiving a letter; and on one of the panels a likeness of her mother, Anne Hyde, the first wife of James II. The house has recently been despoiled of all its fine old wood-carving and staircase. The carving is said to be the work of Grinling Gibbons, but to my mind it is not sufficiently refined for his work. The house was purchased by a land-speculator for pulling down, and building upon the site and grounds of about 6 acres.

With a passing reference to the hamlet of Garrett, celebrated in the last century for the mock election and mock mayor (which subject Foote, the actor, dramatised

remains of the old turret-staircase, the original silken banners of the old Wandsworth Volunteers. These are now, I am glad to say, under the care of our accomplished Librarian, Mr. Cecil Davis, who has very carefully cleaned them, and they are now on view at the Public Library, preserved under glass.

under the title of *The Mayor of Garrett*), I will just notice, in conclusion, one or two eminent names which are associated with Wandsworth. Voltaire resided at Wandsworth for two years; Francis Grose, the antiquary, also resided at Mulberry Cottage on Wandsworth Common; and in a house on Wandsworth Common it is said David Garrick resided, and designed a music-room. Dibdin also is said to have resided in a house called "Cedar Cottage"; and coming down to more recent days, it was at Holly Lodge, Southfields, that George Eliot wrote *Adam Bede*.

My best thanks are due to Mr. Cecil Davis, the Librarian of the Public Library, for having kindly furnished me with several interesting items of information in the history of Wandsworth.



HISTORICAL CHART AND NOTES

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE

BRITISH VICTORIAN MONARCHY.

BY R. DUPPA LLOYD, F.R.HIST.S.

It is probable that all general readers of history, and all those who are loyal to the principles of monarchy, may object to the published statement which was so conspicuously presented to the visitors to the Guelph Exhibition, and may wish to see dispelled the errors of genealogists who, in the words of Gibbon, "have spun" a pedigree degrading both to the Sovereignty and to the origin of the great family that is by far the most illustrious in its antiquity and ancestry of any existing European family. The researches of Muratori, Leibnitz, Eccard, Gibbon, Sismondi, and others, have shown, from the charters of Charlemagne, that the Bavarian Boniface, Count of Lucca, is the ancestor of the Marquises of Tuscany and of the D'Estes of Brunswick, for one line; but they have not clearly established the descent of two or three illustrious families which constitute the origin of the British Imperial House of Guelph.

It is, of course, generally known that the Brunswick family is the only representative of the ancient Welfen family, whose ancestors were probably derived from the Boii, the Heruli, or the Scyrii peoples. We find the names of Edecon and Orestes as ambassadors from Attila to the Court of Constantinople; and, at the death of Attila, the different nations and tribes that he had assembled mutually destroyed each other's national existence, and dispersed.

Among the peoples who had escaped from Pannonia, in a shattered condition, into Italy, were the Heruli and the Scyrii, with their princes or leaders,—Edecon, Odoacre, and Welfe or Wolfo, who engaged themselves as mercenaries to the Emperors of Rome at Ravenna. It is supposed that Count Warin of Altdorf, whose son Isenbart saved the life of Charlemagne, was descended either

from Odoacre or Wolfo, or from both, who were chiefs of the Scyrii, a Bavarian Celtic people (the probable origin of the Guelphs), who were certainly not of a Saxon or Teutonic race.

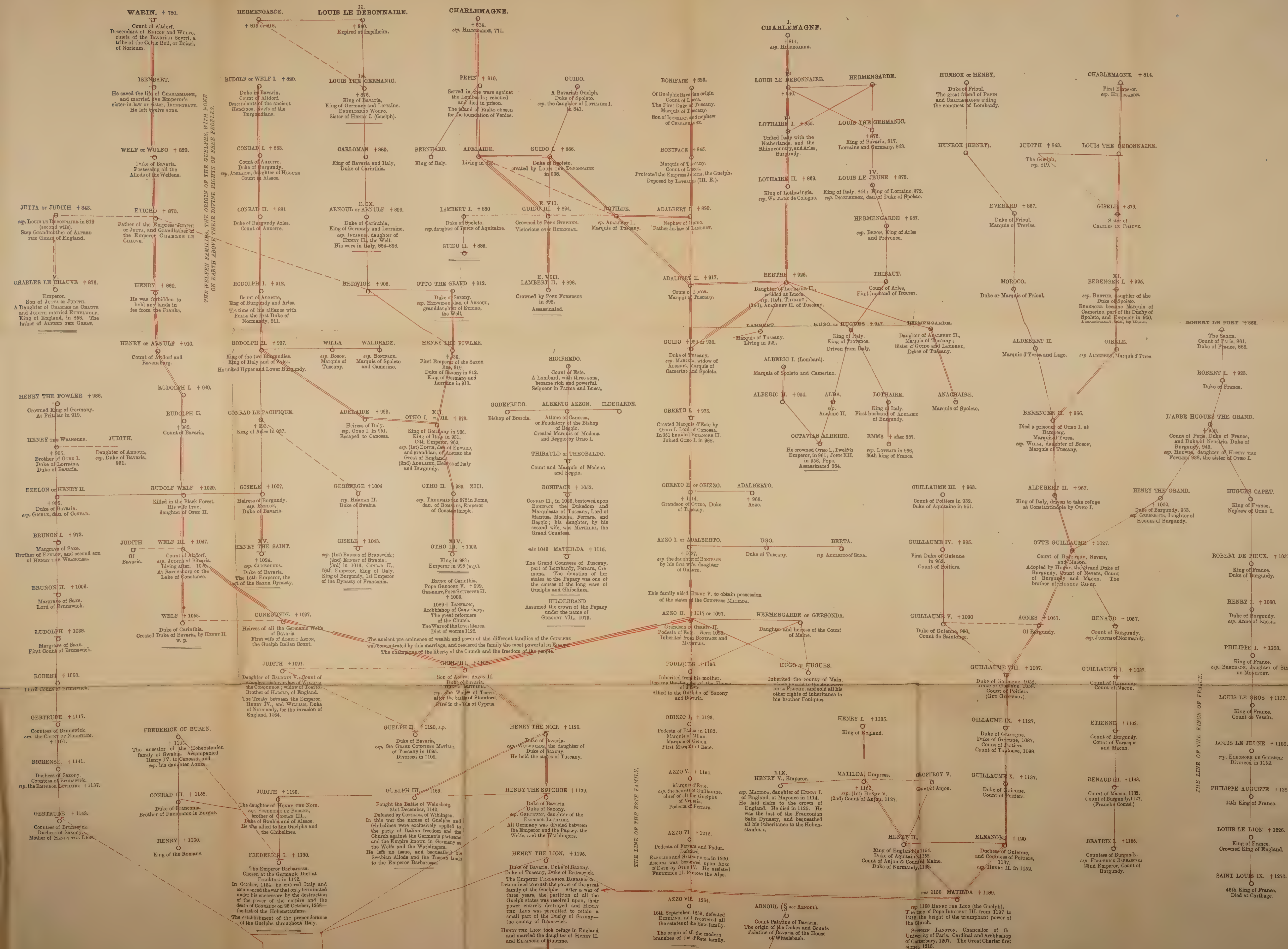
The assertion that the origin of the Guelphs can be traced to *Pharamond*, who probably never existed, is entirely fallacious, as there is no trace wheresoever of the Guelphs being descended from any of the Merovian Teutonic Franks.

The ancient male line of Welfs had, before the time of Charlemagne, assumed the Byzantine title of Bavarian Counts of Altdorf. Warin and his son Isenbart were the most powerful allies of Charlemagne in his conquests over the Bavarians and the Lombards. Isenbart married the sister or sister-in-law of Charlemagne, and had numerous sons. One son, Eticho, held the great fiefs and Allods of the Welfens, and dwelt in retirement in an ancient Allod, independent of the Empire, at Altdorf, on the Bodensee. He was the father of the Empress Judith, the mother of Charles le Chauve, Emperor of the western Carolingian Franks, from whom the French derived the first elements of their nationality.

Another son of Isenbart was created or retained to the ancient Lombard or Gothic Dukedom of Spoleto; and most probably another son was appointed to the Marquisate of Tuscany, which was created by Charlemagne in 813, and became the first Marquis Boniface. Gibbon supposes that this Marquis was one of the Welfen nephews of Charlemagne, and the name Boniface was assumed at the time of his father's conversion to Christianity by the British St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence, the spiritual chief of the Bavarian and Burgundian states, tribes, and peoples.

The three branches of the Bavarian Welfen family were, in after ages, united by the marriage of Alberto Azzo, who was directly descended from Charlemagne's eldest son, Pepin, King of Italy, by the marriage of his daughter Adelaide with Guido, Duke of Spoleto, whose son Guido and grandson Lambert became Kings of Italy and Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Alberto Azzo's grandfather, Oberto II, who was himself grandson of Guido, Duke of Tuscany, Marquis of Camerino and Spo-

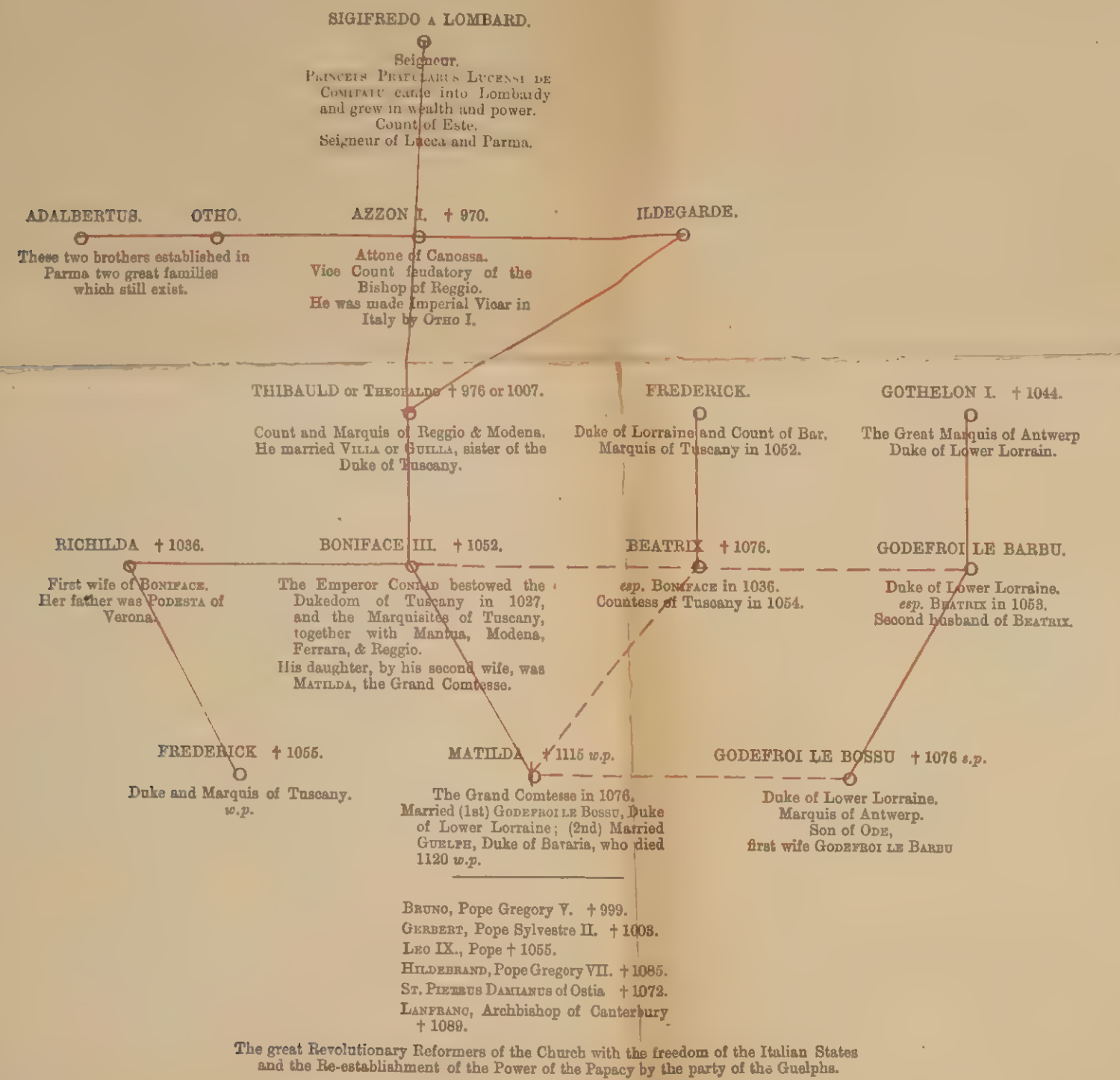
HISTORICAL CHART AND ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE BRITISH VICTORIAN MONARCHY.



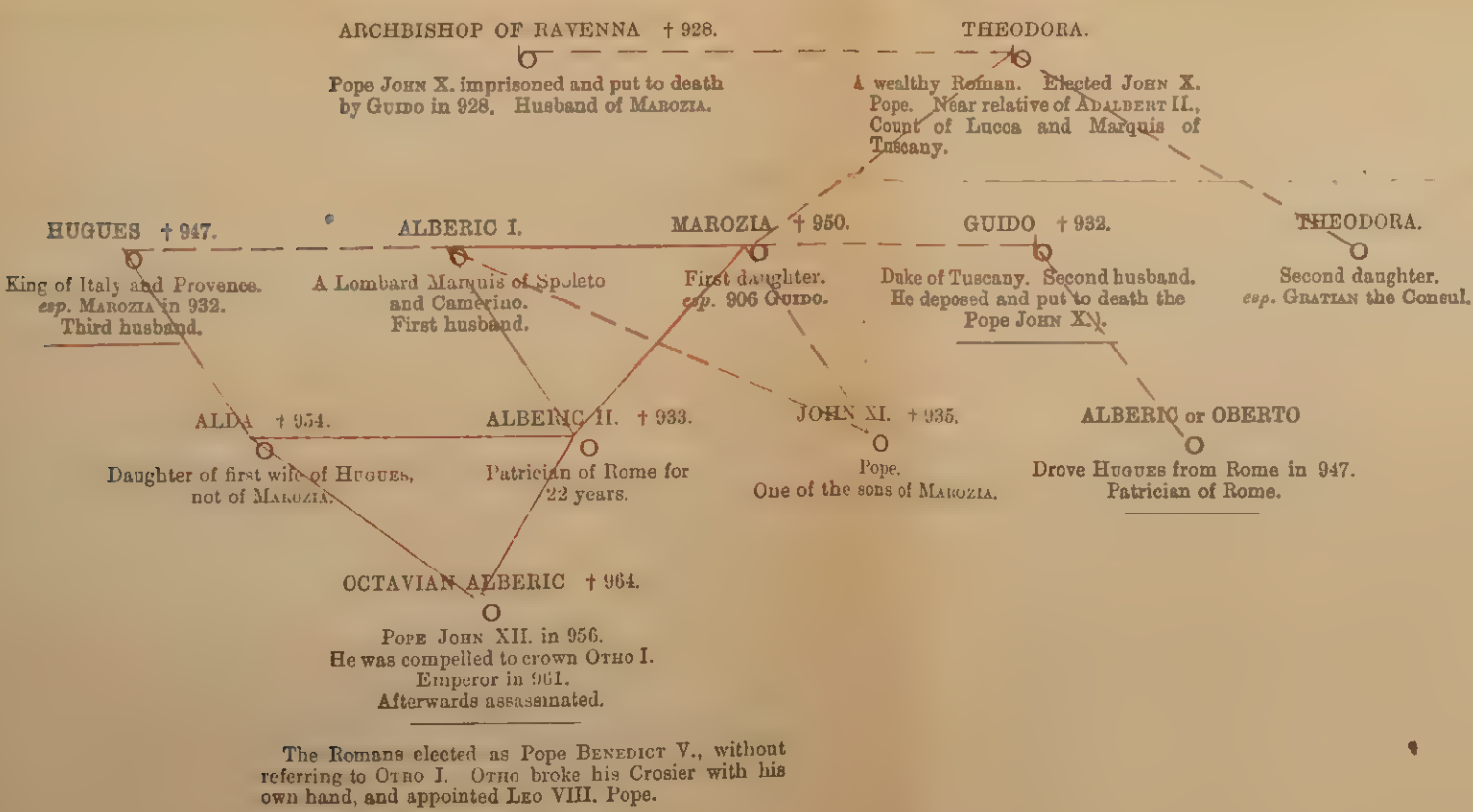


B. d. 1800: 168, 205

THE ORIGIN OF BONIFACE AND THE GRANDE COUNTESS MATILDA, AT THE TIME OF THE DONATION OF ALL THE TUSCAN STATES TO THE PAPACY.



ROME UNDER THE DUKES OF TUSCANY AND SPOLETO, AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST OF ITALY BY OTHO I.





leto, became possessed of the Castle of Este, together with some territories of the ancient Stati-Estensis of Tuscany.

Alberto Azzo, Lord of Canosa, in 956, was a feudatory of the Bishop of Reggio, and was one of the ancestors of Alberto Azzo, and also of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany. By marriage he united the Tuscan Welfen line with the Welfen line of Spoleto, descendants of Pepin. Alberto Azzo rendered great services to the Emperor Otho I, in his conquest and re-incorporation of Italy with the Empire. He was recompensed by being confirmed in the Marquisates of Modena and Reggio. He was the great-grandfather of the Countess Matilda, who bequeathed all her vast estates of Tuscany in sovereignty to Hildebrand and the Papacy.

The vast possessions and power of the Welfs of Altdorf and Ravensburg had been the main support of the last Emperors of the Saxon dynasty. The last of these Welfs, the Duke of Bavaria and Carinthia, dying without posterity, it was decided that all the possessions, honours, and estates should devolve upon Cunegonde, the sister of the last male descendant of the Bavarian and Burgundian Welfs, and that she should marry Alberto Azzo, Podesta of Este, and inheritor of all the Guelph States of Tuscany and Spoleto.

The union of Cunegonde, the last Guelph, and heiress of the Counts of Altdorf, with Alberto Azzo, united the three lines of Guelphs, descendants of Charlemagne:—

1st. The Welfen descendants of the Count Warin, probably from Attila's chieftains, through the sister of Charlemagne.

2nd. The direct line from Pepin, the eldest son, through the Dukes of Spoleto.

3rd. The line of the Marquises of Tuscany, from Louis le Débonnaire, to whom became allied the first line of Marquises from Boniface, who was of Bavarian origin, and Isenbart, who was probably allied to Charles himself.

Alberto Azzo, with his other acquisitions, became Marquis d'Este; and his son, Foulques, by his second wife, inherited the Marquisate, together with those of Milan and Genoa, which were latterly exchanged for the Duke-

doms of Ferrara and Modena. So that the Guelphs are the ancestors, not the descendants, of the d'Este family.

The main Welfen lines, from Azzo and Cunegonde, had gradually assumed the corrupted Italian designation of Guelphs, and became Dukes of Carinthia, Bavaria, and Saxony, of which the County of Brunswick was a portion only. They held vast Allods between Italy and Germany, and all the great passes of the Alps between the Brenner and the St. Gothard, from the Lake Como to the Lake of Constance (or the Bodensee). Being of Burgundian or Celtic Bavarian origin, they were always opposed to the Teutonic Emperors, and always favoured the Church of Rome in its opposition, enmity, wars, and insurrections, against the Emperor and the imperial power, which generally in Italy assumed the designation of Ghibelines.

The powerful Guelphs were ultimately defeated and crushed by the Ghibelines and the Hohenstaufen Emperors; all their possessions were forfeited and confiscated. The last great Duke, Henry the Lion, was allowed to retain only a remnant of the vast power and possessions of the Guelphs in the County of Brunswick, which was detached from the Duchy of Saxony, and elevated into a dukedom by the favour of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Henry the Lion retired to England, having married Matilda, daughter of Henry II, and sister of Cœur de Lion, whose direct descendant was George I, King of Great Britain. Sophia, his mother, was daughter of Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and of Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England. Sophia was descended, on her father's side, from the Wittelsbach line of the ancient Dukes of Bavaria, who were allied to Louis the Germanique, consequently to Charlemagne.

Henry the Lion's mother was directly descended from Charlemagne; and his wife, Matilda, the daughter of Eleanor of Guienne, daughter of Guillaume X (d'Aquitaine), was descended from Louis le Débonnaire and Judith, of the Welfen or the Guelph family.

There is no authority for the statement that Matilda, the wife of Guelph the Lion, was the granddaughter of William V, Duke of Normandy, for it seems probable no such Duke ever existed.

In a visit to Venice by Ernest Augustus, Duke of

Brunswick, in 1685, a genealogy was presented to him by an Abbot of the State, containing some extravagant statements, from which the following is an extract :—

“The first of the Duke’s ancestors pretended to be known was Actius Novus, one of the companions of Romulus. His great-grandson divided a stone with a razor in the presence of the elder Tarquin. In consequence the Actii were enrolled as senators and patricians. In the age of the Antonines they migrated to Este, and about the year 400 Caius Actius, the thirty-third lineal descendant from the companion of Romulus” (in the words of Gibbon), “thus was propagated by modern genealogists a Prince of Este.”

There appears to be no authority for deriving the ancestors of Alberto Azzo from Actius Novus. In his time such a statement would have been considered an insult and an opprobrium to the race of the Guelphs.

The race of Merowig or Merovius (later than any supposed epoch of the *fabulous Pharamond*) had risen from obscurity by indulgence of the deepest depravity, and at the disappearance of the Merovingians they had presented the darkest picture of murderous atrocities and mutual destruction that the world had ever seen. The Guelphs of the British Empire are not descended from the degenerated and depraved Merovingian Franks, but they are from a much nobler race, closely allied to the great Emperor Charlemagne, whose remotest ancestors were even inferior in origin and political importance to those of the Guelphs before the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire.

The authentic genealogical line of the Guelphs, for more than eleven hundred years, has contained all the great landmarks of the annals of moral and spiritual government of mankind, with truth, freedom, and reasonable regard to all relative rights of democracy, aristocracy, or imperial autocracy. A loyal subject of the British Empire need never shrink from tracing the principles of the monarchy to the very earliest sources of law, freedom, and progressive civilisation, and from affirming that these were always manifested by the great Guelph aristocracy, from which the wisdom and patriotism of our forefathers have developed the constitutional form and the sovereignty of the Queen and Empress Victoria.

By adapting the civil laws to the ancient, moral, and

spiritual institutions of the monarchy of Victoria, it has become the only form that can possibly federate and weld the independent states of divers nationalities, colonies, and republics into one British Victorian Empire, which can with faith and courage maintain the unity and community of a British civilisation with the English language, and will lead to a higher sense of political morality and to the blessings of freedom secured to all from end to end of the empire.

“ E più saranno ancora, infin che il veltro verrà :
Questi non ciberà terra ne peltro,
Ma sapienza, e amore, e virtute ;
E sua nazione sarà tra feltro e feltro.
Di quell’ umile ‘*Impero*’ fia salute.”

(*Dante.*)

A RECENT DISCOVERY IN ROME

IN CONNECTION WITH

MYTHOLOGY AND SYMBOLISM IN BRITAIN.

BY MISS RUSSELL.

(Read 20th April 1892.)

THE letter of Dr. Russell Forbes, printed in the "Proceedings", December 31st, 1890, seems to me to explain satisfactorily a subject about which I have had a theory for some time. The cup and ring cuttings, as they are called, of England and Scotland, the distribution of which does not seem to depend on nationality or religion so much as on the character of the rocks in the districts in which they occur, have been studied, more or less, since the beginning of this century, with the result of numerous engravings and other representations of them to be found in different publications; but the meaning has always been a puzzle, while, as the late Sir James Simpson says in his treatise on the subject, they probably mean something.

And it occurred to me, from finding that similar figures (of course on a level surface) occur in more than one case with the subject of *Ulysses and Polyphemus* on the Etruscan vases (the Cyclops being understood to be degraded sun-gods), that the cup and ring must be meant for the sun regarded as an eye, and that it was probably carved on the rocks as a charm against the evil eye, some sort of belief in which seems to be rather the rule than the exception, beyond the regions of John Knox and the School Boards. As to the East, Major Conder says, I think in *Heth and Moab*, that the fear of the evil eye is very much mixed up with that of sunstroke and moonstroke; which latter is a fact, whether or not it is, as has been supposed, the effect of the chill from radiation under a clear night sky. Mr. Villiers Stuart, in one of his Egyptian books, mentions a conversation with a man who complained of a headache, which he attributed to some

one having cast the evil eye on him the last market-day. In Italy, as is well known, the fear of it is very prevalent indeed. In France, during one of the bad seasons which prevailed about ten years ago, a farmer in some country district was almost torn in pieces by his neighbours, and buried under a heap of stones. The people entirely believed that he had cast the evil eye on their crops; but the authorities were obliged to take cognizance of this archaic proceeding.

A notable English case is mentioned in Macquoid's *About Yorkshire*, that of a man who so entirely believed in the fatal effect of his own regard, that he walked about with his eyes on the ground, and never looked any one in the face, and never looked in the direction of the children at all.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling, whose folk-lore is unexceptionable, bears strong testimony to the blind terror of Hindoos and Mohammedans alike, in India, of any commendation of their children; and this probably has to do with the terrible power of the sun there.

For the benefit of those who have not studied the circular rock-cuttings, it may be explained that they vary from about 6 in. to 2 or 3 ft. in diameter; that the simplest form is that which most nearly represents an eye, a central cup with a ring incised round it; but that as the size increases, the rings are multiplied, and five or six are common. A large specimen is very much like a moderate-sized archery-target. I have a rubbing of one, taken by myself, which is 40 in. across. This is on Chatton Law, near Wooler. In Simpson's engravings it is confounded with another large one on the Dod Law.

They occur more particularly on rock-surfaces near old inhabited sites. They appear to be studiously irregular. Many of the variations which are given in the engravings are natural cracks or breakages of the rock. Lines of holes, which may be rudimentary, or imitative, calendars or rosaries, occur along with the circles, and also on the harder rocks without them. Possible North American analogies have been pointed out for these,—a circle followed by four dots, meaning four days in Indian picture-writing.

The point which the discovery described by Dr. Russell

Forbes clears up is this. Most of the sets of concentric circles are traversed by what is described as a radial groove, from the centre to the outside. It is the exception when this is not the case. The mosaic which was found in Rome in 1890, on the Cælian Hill, shows an eye surrounded by beasts and birds emblematic of the gods and goddesses, the eye itself being pierced by a javelin ! This was recognised by the authorities as a charm against the evil eye. Two or three similar charms exist, but without the javelin, which seems to be intended by the graver of the British circles. Throwing the spear is not much practised in Europe at present, but I think neither the assegai nor any other javelin has anything corresponding to the feathers of an arrow. It may be added, one of the charms above mentioned has, in addition to the sacred animals, a human figure fencing at the eye with a trident.

The largest and longest known circles in Britain are those of the north-east of Northumberland (a limestone district), and those of the valley traversed by the Crinan Canal in Argyleshire. They have lately been found in considerable numbers, though not as yet of such large size, on rock-scalps near the coast of Kirkcudbrightshire, north of the Solway. One or more cases occur near Robin Hood's Bay, on the Yorkshire coast; and it is now known there are a great many cases of single rocks engraved with two or three or more circles in the north of Scotland, generally in the sea-coast districts.

The most *human* thing I know about these circles is their probable identity with the *saucer*, which seems to have been, in the seventeenth century, one of the official marks on the boundary-stones of the burgh of Aberdeen. I have not myself verified this from the Burgh Records, as published by the Spalding Club; but I believe the stones are described as being "crossit", "sausseryt", and for St. Peter's parish marked with the key: the cross and key being, no doubt, disused for political and polemical reasons, fresh stones are ordered to be saucered if required. These marks would be all originally religious symbols; and it is to be remembered the eye is not necessarily pagan.

On the other hand, I have little doubt that the repre-

sensation of a set of circles with a tolerably well depicted boar, on a stone not far from Inverness, stands for summer and winter. Though I have so little belief in the existence of Celtic mythology that I am inclined to think Diarmed, killed by the boar (if he is mythological at all; and the Irish form of the story, with the three hundred and sixty stopping-places, supposed to be indicated by the numerous dolmens of the country, does look rather *solar*), must be Adonis himself imported from the Continent.

The symbols of the sculptured stones of the north-east of Scotland, though they are almost peculiar to that district (Orkney to Fife), and seem there to belong to Christian times, are so entirely explained by the statement that the pagan Irish carved the symbols of the elements which they adored upon their altars (this occurs, I believe, in an addition to Cormac's *Glossary*), that the question of why they are found on the side of Scotland which had least to do with Ireland must be regarded rather as a question of art than of symbolism. This interpretation was started, like many other things, by Mr. Campbell, who suggests that the spectacle-ornament is the sun and moon joined by two crescents. It struck me, when looking through Dr. Stuart's engravings, that the Z is the lightning, weighted by a stone axe-head or thunderbolt, while the fish and serpent obviously stand for water and earth. One of the spectacle-ornaments, of which there is a cast in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum, seems intended to represent the moon as partly eclipsed. It may be added, the circles represented with the boar, above mentioned, rest on a sort of stand, which occurs in other cases, and seems to have been originally intended for the crescents. The *cocked hat* I take to be the half-moon.

The only things I know very like the Scotch symbols are those of some of the coins of the south and east of England, older than the Roman invasion.¹ They abound in the cup and ring figure (in relief of course) and in crescents. There are some very pretty small silver coins of this type in the British Museum. One, which is engraved in Gibson's *Camden*, has the reverse *blank*, whether repre-

¹ See Hawkins, second ed., for the certainty of this.

senting the disk of the sun or not. The devices are, a crooked streak (apparently standing for the lightning), an arrow-head of metal form (probably meant for the bolt), a crescent, and an object which may be meant for the horns of Aries the Ram (the first sign of the Zodiac), or, perhaps, more likely, those of Alexander as Jupiter Ammon. A coin of this kind, in the possession of Sir John Evans, has the interesting variation that, instead of the arrow-head, a stone axe seems to be represented,—a bluntly triangular object in high relief.

It should be added, I would connect these elemental symbols with Gaelic Celts, even in the south of England. Two races of Britons are very distinctly indicated in Essex, and they were probably Gael and Cymri. I have little doubt that *Bunduca* is the Woman-Leader, the half Latin *Ban-diuc* (= Woman-Duke), which is now used for Duchess in the Highlands. *Prasutagus* has been recognised as containing a native title.

One of the strongest cases against a Celtic mythology occurs in Essex. I have long thought that the Mars Camulus, whose altar has been found on the Roman Wall in Stirlingshire, was only the Cambrian Mars; but I have only lately been aware that John Malalus of Antioch (no high authority, but one who, I think, wrote as early as the sixth century) has preserved the statement that the Emperor Claudius founded the *Urbs Brettaniam* near the ocean; *i.e.*, Camulodunum, which is what the Gaelic Celts would call it. Pictsbury Rampart, near Colchester, is probably *now* called after Roger Pictavensis of *Domesday*; but I see other indications of the Picts, or tartan-wearers, in Essex. It has been long settled that tattooing was too general to account for the distinctive name.

A case which looks more like a personal divinity is that of the goddess Coventina, in whose spring, under the ruins of her little temple with its statues, between *three and four thousand* votive coins were found, coming down to Saxon times; but Mr. Rome Hall has pointed out that she is the nymph of the spring on the Cefn Tian (the Ridge of the Tyne), the hill below which the North and South Tyne meet.

Apollo Grannona, whose altar, found at the Roman station of Inveresk, near Edinburgh, Queen Mary did her

best to preserve, is only the Gaelic Grian, the Sun. On the other hand, Minerva Sul, at Bath, is formed in the same way as Mars Camulus, for she is the Minerva of the Silures; Silure being evidently Sil-Wyr (men or warriors of the Sils). The Scotch Selgovæ seems to be the same name, though *goffe*, *coof*, and *guff*, have got worn down to uncomplimentary meanings in French and Scotch.

The really mythological period in Britain would seem to be that of the early Saxons, from the fourth to the seventh century; and I think there are more traces of their worship than Kemble, living abroad, was aware of.

NOTES.

Whether any of them are really as old as that time, or not, there are some slight indications which would seem to connect the large circles rather with the Northern mythology. There is one very distinct case engraved by Simpson,—a set of circles composed of small dots or pits on the Balder Stone on the Asige Moor in Sweden. A stone from Lilburn, in Northumberland (now in the British Museum), has very rude circles of this kind. It is about 1 ft. in diameter, and stands on the top of a press, on the right hand, at the top of the great staircase. It is necessary to mention that while Balder in Sweden, and in a locality apparently connected with the Æsar, certainly means the Sun-God, the Balder names of the east districts of England and Scotland are not unlikely to refer to the Saint of Tynningham. The oldest document calls him Balther. Baldred, his name in literature, seems to have been a West Saxon name. At the same time, *Balder* is so constantly referred to by the people of the East Lothian promontory that one is tempted to wonder whether he had partly succeeded to the honours of an old deity; which is quite possible, even if Edwin entered Scotland as a Christian.

Something like this appears in the case of the King of the Picts, called “Dectotreic, *frater Tiu*”, or brother of Tyr, the Northern god of war especially, and supposed to be Theodoric, son of Ida. He had probably married a Pictish princess. All the royal husbands, at least, seem to have been foreigners; and this seems to show that Kemble was right in supposing that Dietrich of Berne (Theodoric of Verona) had been partly identified with an old demigod, Dietrich. I find the capital of Switzerland (which only dates from the Middle Ages) was actually named from the romances. The name Tiowulf is certainly the Wolf of Tyr, which bit his hand off.

I am inclined to think that Odin, as a one-eyed deity, has been a sun-god in one aspect; and he was certainly not unknown in Britain. St. Kentigern preached against the human Odin at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire; a further proof that Dumfries is the town of the early Frisians, and the *Caer Pheris* of the list attached to Nennius. Also that the north shore of the Solway is really the Frisian shore of Kenti-

gern's history, though it is transferred to the Firth of Forth in the part of it which has been distorted, evidently to bring the Saint within the conditions of the Irish Church, in which the abbot was always either a relation of the chief or of the actual founder. Bede does not name the deity whose temple was officially desecrated on the occasion of Edwin's conversion, but it was probably that of Odin.

And north of the Border, the war-cry of Hawick, "Terribus and Terri Odin!" remains the motto of the town. I do not know of any very old written authority for this; but it is given in Chambers' *Rhymes of Scotland* (about 1825), along with other slogans.

Of Thor there is less evidence; but the next parish to Hoddam is called Tundergarth, and probably may have had a sanctuary of the Thunderer; while a foolish story involving something very like a Thor legend has been tacked on to Kentigern's own history. The well known Scotch surname, Thorburn, is of course Thorbiorn (the Bear of Thor). Thorbrand occurs also.

Of Lok, the Northern god of mischief, I do not know that any distinct trace remains in Scotland; but the name, which has been a puzzle, is certainly explained by the Scotch *Luckie* (formerly spelt *Lokie*), for a woman holding any official position, or keeping a public-house, and also used like Goody or Granny. *Hlok* is said to mean a witch in the Icelandic, and Lok is supposed to have been the witch who refused to weep for Balder; and I believe he takes a female form elsewhere. I was delighted to find that Lox retained this characteristic in the North American stories, which may perfectly well be relics of the Icelandic colony.

The name goes very far back into Indo-European mythology. Lokanauth is the deity worshipped by lepers in India. I observe in one of Mr. Clouston's legends that a wife unjustly accused by her husband calls upon the goddess Earth and the Lokapalas (probably female powers) to vindicate her.

In the late and conventional form in which the Scandinavian mythology has come down to us, Hel, or Frau Hölle (who looked after the dead who had not died by violence, so as to qualify for Odin's military paradise of Valhalla), is called the daughter of Lok; but this is certainly degrading her sadly. One of the *fire-ceremonies at midwinter*, described by Sir Arthur Mitchell in his well-known paper on "Fire-Ceremonies at Midwinter" (one observed in Swabia), consisted of running about with torches on the 6th of January (the Epiphany), and it was called "Burning Frau Hölle on Berchta's Night"; and as the two names mean the same thing, *Berchta* being the English *bright*, and *Hell* the modern German equivalent (so that *Frau Hölle* is the Bright Lady), it seems evident that the 6th of January, when the daylight begins to lengthen, was the old festival of the goddess worshipped by different German tribes under different names. *Berchta* is the great nature-goddess of the Germans, but often appears as the goddess of death. *Bertha* of Burgundy is alleged to have acquired some of her honours; but she is a very distinct historical personage, and her *spindle* actually appears on the existing seal of a document.

It ought not to be omitted that Bede mentions that Easter, or rather the Saxon April, was named from a goddess of his own people, called Eoster. Everywhere but in England, so far as I know, Easter is *Pasque*; even in Scotland the great festivals were Pace and Yule.

Yule, for midwinter generally is, as has been long recognised, an invocation of Odin as *Iol*.

The subject of the evil eye connects at one point with that of the *cultus* of St. Helen in Yorkshire.¹ From the well known *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, it appears that the witch-wood (that is, rowan or mountain-ash branches), still occasionally laid in for use against the evil eye and witchcraft in general, in Yorkshire, is not considered fully efficacious unless cut on St. Helen's Day. The day is Sept. 18th, when the scarlet berries are at their best.

¹ See *Journal* of Sept. 30, 1891.

MARRIAGE IN CELTIC BRITAIN.

BY J. H. MACMICHAEL, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 166.)

IN search of further evidence as to the likelihood of Cæsar having mistakenly placed reliance upon hearsay where personal verification was, at the time, impracticable, Giraldus Cambrensis may be arraigned. He says that the *houses of the Welsh consisted of one room, and the whole family, guests and all, slept on rushes laid along the wall, with their feet to the fire, the smoke of which found its way through a hole in the roof.*¹ They had thus but one couch, called "gwely"; the *tir gwelyawg*, or "inheritance of land", being the land of the family using the same couch, and the descendants of one ancestor living together were a *gweli-gordd*.² Thus, if these domestic conditions existed in the early centuries of our era,³ just as they do among the remnants of the Gaelic branches of the Celtic family in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland to this day, misapprehension may easily have

¹ *Description of Wales*, c. xvii. The same writer says that the houses of the Welsh were not built either in town or village, but were scattered along the edge of the woods. To his eye they seemed mere huts made of boughs of trees twisted together, easily constructed and lasting scarcely more than a season. The houses of the Britons were likened by Cæsar to those of Gaul; and the Gauls, Strabo tells us, "dwelt in great houses arched and constructed of planks and wicker, covered with a heavy thatched roof (Book IV, c. iv, § 3). This latter dwelling may be said, therefore, to have been that of an agricultural people, and that described by Giraldus of a pastoral.

² *The English Village Community*, by Fredk. Seebohm.

³ The Gwentian, Dimetian, and Vendotian Codes all represent the homestead, or the *tydden*, and land of the free Welshmen, as a *family holding*. So long as the head of the family lived, all his descendants lived with him *apparently in the same homestead*. (*Ibid.*, p. 193.) Referring to the communities of *villeins* on French estates in former times, Sir Henry Maine recognises in them the remains of the ancient Celtic *gentes*. There can be no doubt that these associations were not really voluntary partnerships, but groups of kinsmen, not however, so often organised on the ordinary type of the village community as on that of the house community, which has recently been examined in Dalmatia and Croatia.

arisen in the mind of the Roman invader as to the prevailing nature of such relationships.¹ Or supposing the passage in the *Commentaries* to be regarded in its more generally accepted (*i.e.*, its unfavourable) interpretation, the author must of necessity have had much information upon hearsay, and it is quite conceivable that the reflection did not cross his mind how such statements should be so personally verified as to be, like Cæsar's wife, "above suspicion".

Can we think that Cæsar was possessed of a burning desire to speak the truth about a race which he discreetly pretended to despise, and a people whom his legionaries must have hated for the stubborn resistance with which they strove to maintain their independence? Writers who have had occasion to consult the *Commentaries* have frequently remarked the author's inconsistencies.² But unless the passage is a deliberate libel upon a people whose country had been known from the remotest times as the "land of saints", one is prone to think—and this more especially when it is reflected that the criminal violence which the daughters of Boadicea suffered at the hands of the Romans was the cause of the outburst of indignation under that Queen—that either malicious reports, or, as Provost MacAndrew, in the *Celtic Magazine*, speaks of them, "mere travellers' tales",³ had reached the ears of Cæsar, owing, perhaps, to some of the more licentious of his officers having found the sanctity of the British hearth and wigwam inviolable.⁴ The Roman soldiers do not seem to have brought wives with them. Calgacus,

¹ P. L. Lemièrre, in his *Etude sur les Celtes et les Gaulois*, says: "Asinus Pollion, nous dit Suetone, estimait qu'il avait été composé avec peu de soin, et peu de souci de la vérité, que l'auteur avait cru fort légèrement la plupart des recits de ses lieutenants, et que pour les siens propres, soit à dessein soit par défaut de mémoire, il avait avancé des inexactitudes" (pp. 488-9, 511).

² See amongst these Sir William Betham in *The Gaul and Cymri*.

³ "I dismiss stories of Roman writers about cannibalism, community of wives, children belonging to the tribe and not to their parents, etc., as mere travellers' tales." (*Celtic Magazine*, June 1887.)

⁴ Or, as it is of the Britons of the interior that Cæsar apparently speaks, his statement may have been founded, as is suggested by Carte, in his *History of England*, upon a report of the Belgæ with whom the tribes of the interior were at war. (See vol. i, p. 72, ed. 1747.)

inciting the Britons before the battle of the Grampians to deeds of valour, says: "The Romans have no wives with them to inspire them with valour";¹ and Suetonius says of Cæsar that "he neither noticed every crime, nor when he did was it followed with adequate punishment; but whilst he sharply inquired into and severely punished desertion and sedition, he tacitly connived at other delinquencies".² "Do you believe that the degree of bravery which animates the Romans (in war) is as great as that of their licentiousness in peace?"³ "Our wives and sisters, although they escape a hostile assault, are polluted under the pretence of friendship and hospitality."⁴ And after their defeat Tacitus describes how the Britons were sometimes broken (hearted) at the sight of their relatives, but were oftener fired with wrath, and it is sufficiently well established that some of them, as if in savage pity, laid violent hands upon their wives and children.⁵

We may perhaps now consider the manner in which the union of the sexes was accomplished. Among the forty tribes to whom the "heavenly island of Britain",⁶ as Aneurin, in allusion probably to the Keltic paradise, speaks of his native country—was apportioned, the practice undoubtedly prevailed with which Dr. McLennan has aptly identified a word of his own coining, namely, *exogamy*.⁷ We know that the Keltæ must have practised, though in a debased form, the primitive religion of the Oriental patriarchs, just as we know that they

¹ Tacitus, *Agric.*, c. xxxii.

² § 67.

³ Tacitus, *Agric.*, c. xxxii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, c. xxxi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, c. xxxviii. And Caractacus, before his defeat by Agricola, urges the Britons to keep the persons of their wives and children uncontaminated. (See Tac., *Ann.*, Book XII, 34.) As Suetonius speaks of Julius Cæsar, so Tacitus speaks of Agricola: "He was content to let some things pass unnoticed." (C. xx.) "He wished to know everything, though he ignored many delinquencies." (C. xix, *Life of Agricola*.) "Caractacus himself had but one wife, who, when a captive in Rome, passed in procession through the city with her daughter, and followed by the British King, that they might be viewed by the Roman populace. (Tac. *Ann.*, Book XII, c. xxxvi.)

⁶ *The Gododin*. "Their Flath-Innis, or Noble Island, lay surrounded by tempest in the Western Ocean." See also a learned note on "The Sacred Islands of the North" in *Notes and Queries*, vol. v, p. 429, 2nd Ser.

⁷ *Studies in Anc. Hist.*

enjoyed a degree of culture to which non-Aryan savages are to this day strangers; that they lived under the admirable influence of that system of clanship which they brought with them from the East,¹ and which had its origin in the patriarchal conditions of society there obtaining in the early history of the human race. And incohesive as these tribes were, even on occasion of common danger, they must have been, owing to different causes, continually at war one tribe with another: a state of affairs, not, however, as has been remarked, more culpable than that which the history of modern Europe reveals. The enormous abundance of the camps of the ancient Britons, however, in which Professor Dawkins sees indications of a state of incessant warfare,² may be taken to indicate rather a necessary state of constant *preparation* for war. And—

“What dire offence from amorous causes spring,
What mighty contests rise from trivial things”,³

when we find that a not unfrequent source of strife was probably this abduction by force⁴ of women from a

¹ “The moral element in society”, says Professor Blackie, “is the blood, and the blood is the life. The clan system as a form of government is not only not a bad system, but in respect of the moral cement which held the different classes of society together, it was the best possible system that ever has been or ever will be devised. (See *Celtic Mag.*, Dec. 1880.) “In this system a moral bond asserted itself by deeds of devotion and fidelity, generosity and self-sacrifice, unsurpassed in the annals of the human race.” (*Ibid.*)

² “When we consider”, says Professor Dawkins, “the enormous abundance of the camps of the ancient Britons it is clear that those were times of incessant warfare.” (*Our Earliest Ancestors in Britain.*) It is to be regretted that Sammes, in his *Britannia*, does not name the ancient author whom he quotes, though it was possibly the foregoing fact that was in his mind, to the effect that among the ancient Britons “every one delighted in provoking quarrels, that it was their daily exercise and pleasure to be skirmishing, that they were continually going out in parties fortifying and entrenching, many times rather out of delight than any necessity.”

³ *The Rape of the Lock*, Canto i, lines 1, 2.

⁴ “The origin of temptation in the traditions of every nation, the symbol of that desire which takes man out of himself, the occasion of war and conquest, is woman. With her the heroic struggle commences. The mistresses of Rama and Crishna are, in the Indian poems, carried off by Ravana and Sishupala; Brunhilde by Siegfried, in the *Nibelungen*; in the book of heroes Chriemhild is carried away by the dragon, as Proserpine by the king of the infernal regions; Helen quits

neighbouring clan, a custom known to the Scandinavians as "bride-lifting", and in modern parlance as "marriage by capture". This custom was sometimes extended to capture upon a large scale, as, for instance, when in some sanguinary contest all the men of one side were massacred, and, indeed, sometimes many of their Amazonian wives and daughters also, but who were perhaps more frequently, in such circumstances, carried off as part of the spoils.¹ Such we know were the motives which sometimes actuated the Picts and Scots in their predatory excursions, and of which the most conspicuous instance in history is the traditional Rape of the Sabines. But individual instances of "capture", though sufficiently barbarous manifestations of gallantry—and one would not wish to claim for the Briton a refinement of manners as well as of sentiment—were not necessarily characterised by cruelty, though as a method of evincing regard the custom must have savoured somewhat to the helpless bride of "giving pap with a hatchet". Although these were times such as Butler the poet describes,

"When men upon their spouses seiz'd,
And married freely where they pleased,

* * *

Menelaus for the Trojan Paris; the adroit Penelope with difficulty evades the solicitations of her lovers." (See Michelet's *Hist. of the Roman Republic*, Hazlitt, ed. 1847, p. 57.) It is worthy of note that the males of other *gregarious* animals besides man usually fight for the possession of the females. Is not the custom of duelling also associated with this survival of the fittest, since it came originally from the Northern nations, among whom, especially among the hot-headed Britons, it was usual to decide all controversies by arms? (See exhaustive account of the origin and custom of duelling in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.) Diodorus Siculus says of the Gauls that, "in the very midst of feasting, upon any small occasion, it is ordinary for them in a heat to rise, and without any regard for their lives, to fall to it with their swords." (Book v, c. ii, G. Booth's trans.) As Darwin says, "On the principle of sexual selection a harmless stag or spurless cock would have a poor chance of leaving numerous offspring," so it is this principle which applies to the vicissitudes of racial supremacy in Britain.

¹ Disorders arising from such causes were for a considerable time the source of the chief animosities among the different tribes of Greece as well as between them and the inhabitants of Asia Minor; and the rape of Io, of Europa, of Media, and of Helen are mentioned as the ground of successive quarrels which in the end were productive of the most distinguished military enterprise that is recorded in the history of the period. (See Jno. Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*.)

Nor took the pains t' address and sue,
Nor play'd the masquerade to woo",¹

such proceedings were not of necessity, and as Mr. Jefferson, in his book upon *Brides and Bridals*, asserts, of a cruel nature, for even if the woman had no "voice" in the matter, the pathway to Hymen was then probably, as now, strewn with what Shakespeare has called "the tribute of fair looks",² and there is such a weapon in Cupid's armoury as an eloquent eye, which was, doubtless, sometimes brought into requisition to inflame the heart of the Celtic warrior;³ whilst the report of valorous deeds performed by aspirants to or possessors of the golden torque,⁴ would suffice to render such attention on the part of the hero of them not altogether unacceptable.

It may fairly be presumed that from "capture" came our expression to "take a wife", just as for the father or *mundbora* among the Saxons to "give" the bride away, is probably a relic of the contract of purchase,⁵ and seeing

¹ Samuel Butler's *Epistle to his Lady*.

² *The Taming of the Shrew*, v, 2.

³ In Ossian's poem, *Oina-Morul*, Malorchol, King of the Fuarted, being hard pressed in war by another chief who is in love with the former's daughter, Malorchol applies to Fingal for aid. Fingal sends Ossian, who takes prisoner the aspirant to Oina-Morul's hand. Malorchol thereupon offers Ossian his daughter, but the warrior bard, discovering the latter's passion for her father's prisoner, generously surrenders her to her lover.

⁴ Golden torques were given at a later time as prizes of skill and valour, and the phrase *dwyn y torch*, "to win the golden torque", is to this day to be heard in Wales for winning any prize, although the rings themselves have long ago disappeared, and the historic allusion is not comprehended. (See Nichols' *Pedigree of the English*, p. 69, Lond., 1878.) As alluded to further, both good and bad instances of capture occur in ancient British poetry. (See p. 223.) A Scottish bride was anciently expected to show a reluctance, and require a certain degree of violence, which was neither thought unbecoming in the man nor a hardship to the woman, many instances being found of happy unions accomplished with apparent force and cruelty. (See Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii, ed. 1876, p. 373.)

⁵ The disallowing of the bride to exercise her choice in the matter—and from "purchase" has survived the modern *mariage de convenance*, often more cruel than a marriage "barbarously" consummated by capture—is obviously a relic of primitive, or, at all events, of savage life, under the rude conditions of which the men are seldom prompted to unite so much on account of any amorous attachment as for the sake of possessing a "beast of burden" in their wives, who will "get their dinner cooked", or to add in a similarly calculating way to the comfort of their existence.

that the contract in the latter case, once sealed, the father had no longer any claim upon the person of his daughter, the bride was doubtless given away with that grace and unction which generally characterise the liberality of those who give away that which does not belong to them. But in almost any event this latter custom must have been devoid of all romance, for it was hardly to be expected that a man would trouble himself to win the love of a woman whom he could obtain without further trouble than putting his hand in his pocket.¹ On the other hand, "capture of the bride", which in our sight appears so "barbarous", yet survives amongst us in the modern elopement, had perhaps been preceded by some degree of courtship, for where love is concerned tribal distinctions, like stone walls,

"Do not a prison make",

and was, in fact, sometimes, as in Ossian's poem, *Cathlin of Clutha*, environed by circumstances of romance stranger far than fiction, though, alas! also characterised by scenes of violence and bloodshed, such as are recounted by the Scotch bard in the rape and attempted rescue by Conlath of *Cuthona*, and again in the rape of *Oithona*.²

It is among the Welsh that there is evidence of "capture", or a semblance of it, having prevailed in the Principality until quite lately. A graphic description of a Welsh wedding as anciently celebrated, copied from a valuable old MS., then in private possession, is given in Roberts' *Cambrian Antiquities*.³ The marriage having

¹ The Hindus seem to have had a horror of even a semblance of the sale of a woman in marriage. In the Laws of Menu it was not permitted to speak of the gift of the cow and the bull as a *gratuity*, since a fee, small or great, is a sale of the daughter. (See chap. iii, 53.) Instances of wife-selling have occurred up to within recent times in England, and the scandalous custom still in isolated instances probably survives. (See *Cheshire Notes and Queries*, p. 154, July 16, 1887.)

² *Conlath and Cuthóna*, and *Oithóna*. Our modern and more ornamental best man at weddings was in ancient times of the first importance as regards usefulness. He was so named because he was the physically strongest in the train of the bridegroom, and consequently the most forbidding obstacle to encounter in any attempt (which often occurred) on the part of rejected or importunate lovers to carry off the bride by force. Cf. also the German *Watchmen's Songs*.

³ See *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, ed. 1815, p. 164.

been privately celebrated at an early hour, the signal to the friends of the bridegroom was given by the piper, who was always present on these occasions, and mounted on a horse trained for the purpose; and the cavalcade, being all mounted, set off at full speed, with the piper playing in the midst of them, for the house of the bride. The friends of the bride in the meantime raised various obstructions to prevent their access to the house of the bride, such as ropes of straw across the road, blocking up the regular one, etc., and the Gwyntyn (literally, "the vane"), corrupted in English into Quintain.¹ When the difficulties of the Gwyntyn were over, or the bridegroom's friends had anticipated the arrangement, they hastened to the bride's abode, and if the door was shut against them, assailed it with music and poetry, particularly the latter, in strains of raillery. If the latter could not be retorted from within, the door was opened, and by a little management the bridegroom's friends contrived to draw the bride out of the company, *and bear her off as in triumph*. Her friends, at a convenient time, discovered her flight and pursued, and if they overtook the other party *a mock encounter* took place, in which the pursuers acknowledged their own inferiority, and the bride was brought safely to the bridegroom's house, the whole party being received with the greatest kindness and welcome. The remainder of the day was passed in festivity. Lord Kames, in his *Sketches of the History of Man*, describes the custom, though in a less minutely detailed manner.² This tenacious survival was sometimes known as *Helen's Hunt*, in allusion to the traditional elopement of Helen of Troy with Paris, which originated the Trojan war, and probably—i.e., the term—a relic of the once credited story of the Trojan-British Kings contained in the *Armorican*

¹ *Ibid.* This consisted of an upright post, on the top of which a spar turned freely. At one end of this spar hung a sandbag, and the other presented a flat side. The rider in passing struck the flat side, and if not dexterous in passing was overtaken, and perhaps dismounted by the sandbag, and became a fair object of laughter. The Gwyntyn was also guarded by the champion of the other part, who, if it was passed successfully, challenged the adventurers to a trial of skill at one of the twenty-four games; a challenge which could not be declined, and hence to guard the Gwyntyn was a service of high adventure.

² Book i, sec. 6, p. 449, ed. 1807.

Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Mr. Roberts, the author of the valuable *Cambrian Antiquities*, seeks an origin for the custom of "capture" in Wales, I think unnecessarily, in its introduction by the Romans, because a similar custom, very probably, is described on the authority of Apuleius in Rosini's *Roman Antiquities*, though the Quintain is acknowledged to be decisively of Welsh origin.

Whilst the rights of the British women were probably held sacred, and the position generally of the Indo-European woman is assumed to have been a relatively high one, it was a position, there is much to show, which was surrounded by facilities for divorce, with which it would be inadequate to compare, either numerically or as to commodiousness, the exits of a modern safety theatre. Even as late as the tenth century¹ the laws of Howel Dda permitted divorce on the most trivial pretexts, and the fact that these laws were those of a Christian prince shows how deeply rooted had been the belief in the laxity with which the marriage tie might be regarded, since it was with such difficulty that it was shaken by Christian dogma. In Ireland, also, whilst the rights of women were protected, as in Wales, by special laws, the facilities for the separation of husband and wife were similarly numerous.² And we have in the poems of Ossian notable instances of the ease with which a divorce could be effected, at all events, in the northern parts of Britain. In the second canto of *Fingal*, Deugala had but to divide the herd with Cairbar, her husband, to obtain immediate separation from him, that she might marry "that sun-beam of youth", the noble son of Danman, for whom "half of the herd" was probably a marriage portion, the surrendering of which was, in this instance, all the marriage ceremony that was performed. In the fourth canto of

¹ It was not until the eighth or ninth century that our marriage-customs appear to have been reduced into a well-defined institution, with fixed laws, ceremonies, and consequent rights. For this advance in jurisprudence the Saxons were indebted to the Christian clergy; and for the form it took, to the teachings of the Mosaic law, to the civil law of Rome, and to the canons of the Church. (See Thrupp's *Anglo-Saxon Home*, p. 27.)

² See O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Introd., p. clxxv.

the same poem is an illustration of the matrimonial rite having consisted in the father simply giving up his daughter, the "snow-bosomed" Eivir Allin, to Ossian her suitor, sealing the contract by the act of "opening the hall of the maid", *i.e.*, the apartment in which the women generally sat retired from the men of the family. The shortness of the period of courtship, of which we have an instance in that of Isaac and Rebecca, seems to have been common to the patriarchal conditions of society. The survival of the French *dot*, or marriage portion, may be traced to the custom among the Gauls, as described by Cæsar,¹ of the husband receiving a portion in money with his wife for which he made a suitable settlement of his goods.²

It is evident that there were no matrimonial rites, such as we understand them to have existed in the contemporary history of Rome, much less were any performed, as Foxbrooke conjectures, at a cromlech, seeing that, as I have endeavoured to show, the matter concerned more closely the social life of each clan, or house-community, rather than the tribe at large; and in the stone age, with which the building of monuments and temples of stone may be identified, there is still less probability of marriage rites having existed other than those of the simplest kind. Rather was the contract effected by the mutual will and assent of the contracting parties, and the agreement sealed by the gift or exchange of useful presents, such as the presenting, by the father of the bride, of his own arms to his son-in-law, as described by Ossian; or such as Tacitus describes as having been customary amongst the ancient Germans, when he says that "the contract was confirmed by the exchange of presents, an act which they considered an indissoluble bond of union".³

¹ *De Bello Gall.*, lib. vi, c. 18.

² A writer has remarked, in explanation of the woman giving instead of the man, that it is more reasonable for the woman thus to pay for protection than that her lover should pay for the privilege of maintaining her. This, says Sir Henry Maine, is the favourite form of settling the property of married women all over the continent of Europe. It is a contribution of the wife's family, or by the wife herself, intended to assist the husband in bearing the expenses of the conjugal household.

³ *De Morib. German.*, c. xviii.

Again, illustrations of the contract having been sealed by the simple act of "handfasting" are given on sculptured monuments of the Anglo and Gallo-Roman period,¹ which may be seen in Aringhus's *Roma Subterranea*,² Montfalcon's *Antiquity Explained*,³ and in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (Marriage). The Persians and Assyrians were in the habit of contracting marriage by joining their right hands and giving a ring, and Mr. Lysons assumes this to have been also the British habit from the earliest times.⁴

So that finally we are reduced to the conclusion that monogamy amongst the Britons was the rule, and polygamy the exception. The light of the evidence which Tacitus alone throws upon the subject is sufficiently convincing as to this being so, and more than sufficient to annul the pernicious statement of Cæsar's. It has been shown how great were the facilities for divorce, and whilst we find in bardic poetry and song no reflection of any more irregular relationship than that which existed among the ancient Germans, to whom, with the Celts, may even be attributed the rough-hewn origin of the chivalry which flowered during the Middle Ages, one would not wish to place their morality at such an altitude as to elicit the approval of the Christian sociologist; for whilst the clan system admitted so easily of divorce, a powerful chieftain (as was the case with the Scandinavians until they came under the influence of Christianity) often attached to his household a plurality of wives. A passage in Cæsar describes how among the Gauls, "when the father of a family born in a more than commonly distinguished station had died, his relations assemble, and if the circumstances of his death are suspicious, hold an investigation upon the *wives*, in the manner adopted towards slaves."⁵ "*Uxoribus*" here has been understood by

¹ Even the Gaulish inscriptions are very scanty; the interpretation as yet given to them imperfect, and by no means adequate as data for conclusions. They may be safely taken as handing down remains of a tongue clearly Celtic, but showing inflections which it would be hazardous to say are identified with any now found in Irish, or dissimilar to any at one time found in Cymric. (See *The Pedigree of the English*, by Thomas Nicholas, p. 43, ed. 1878.)

² Ed. 1651. See illustrations, lib. ii, c. x, pp. 283-291.

³ Vol. iii.

⁴ *Our British Ancestors*.

⁵ *De Bell. Gall.*, vi, 19.

many, and among these is Dr. Schrader, to imply that polygamy was therefore the rule; but the context, wherein it is seen that Cæsar is speaking of *pater familiæ in lustriore loci natus*, "a father of a family born in a more than commonly distinguished station", at once destroys this assumption. Hence, in conclusion, it may be asserted that the elaborate edifice of Western civilisation, with Christianity for its corner-stone, has been built upon no such sandy foundations with regard to marriage—so far, at least, as Britain is concerned—as some historians and ethnologists would have us believe, and to writers from the latter point of view Cæsar's libel is especially a stumbling block. Why should "the heavenly island of Britain",¹ if one may repeat the epithet which the prince of bards has applied with more grace than a modern poet to his native country, be especially selected for exclusion from the virtues with which Dr. Schrader, in agreement with Benfey, Whitney, Taylor, and Müller, has credited the whole Indo-European race; "a people", he says, "possessing a well-regulated family and national life, familiar with cattle-breeding and agriculture, owning nearly all the domesticated animals which at the present day are in the service of man, experienced in mining, and working the most important if not all of the metals? Such a people seemed to be the fitting representatives of a race which was destined to play so important a part in the development of civilisation."²

¹ Britain seems to have become the "heavenly Island", and the Paradise of the Celts, simply because it was the safest place to guard their religion, their greatest treasure; just as in the case of a siege, valuables would be placed in the remotest place of safety, or where it would the least occur to the besiegers to look for it. Hence the Holy Island appears to have shifted from one place to another: first Britain, then Mona, then Ireland, according to the encroachments of "the stranger" upon their territory. This, doubtless, accounts for the preservation in such numbers of the Irish MSS.; and would not this also explain the hitherto unaccounted for circumstance of the Gauls sending their children to Britain for Druidic education?

² *Prehist. Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples* (Jevons' trans.), p. 29.

THE ROUND CHURCH TOWERS OF ESSEX.

BY J. M. WOOD, ESQ.

(Read 18 June 1890.)

The Round Church Tower of Little Sailing in the County of Essex.—The parish of Bardfield Sailing, or Little Sailing as it is now called, is situated in the northern part of the county of Essex. It is about four miles from Dunmow, and five miles from Thaxted, and about the same distance from Braintree. It is bounded on the north by Great Bardfield, on the south by Stebbing, and on the east it is joined to Great or Old Sailing. From early times until considerably after the dissolution of the monasteries Little Sailing has been recorded under various names, some of which are as follow: Berdefelda, Bardfield juxta Sailing, Bardfield Sailing, Little and New Sailing. Although the two Sailings join, they are in different hundreds, viz., Bardfield Sailing, or Little Sailing, in the half hundred of Freshwell, and Great Sailing in the hundred of Hinckford.

The early history of the parish of Little Sailing appears shrouded in mystery. The records, especially in the *Domesday Book*, of which there are two, being anything but clear, and are as follow:

"Hundred of Froshwell or Freshwell.—In Berdefelda Wielard holds i hide, which was held by ii men in the service of Wisgar, and then they did not pay any custom or geld to the King, nor could they remove without the leave of their Lord, as the Hundred testifies. Alway i team in demesne. It is worth xx shillings."

"Hundred of Hidingforda.—Sailinges are held of John by Turs-tinus. They are held of i freeman in the time of K. Edward for a manor and half a hide. Then ii teams in the demesne, afterwards none, then i half. Then iii villeins and one priest. Then and afterwards iii bordars, now v. Then iv serfs, afterwards and now iii. Then and after wood for ccl swine, now for cc; x acres of meadow. It is worth lx shillings."

With reference to the first entry, it would appear that in Saxon times Berdefelda was in the possession of two servants of a thane named Wisgar, who I find was part possessor of the adjoining lands of Great Bardfield.

It then afterwards became the property of Richard Fitz Gislebert, whose under-tenant was named Wielard. According to Newcourt's *Repertorium*, Salmon and Morant's *History of Essex*, and Marsh, the translator of the *Domesday Book of Essex*, this entry under the heading of Berdefelda applies entirely to what is now Little Sailing.

I would not say that such is not the case, while on the other hand the entry could just as reasonably apply to parts of the adjoining parish or lands of Great Bardfield, for the reason that there is another similar entry in the *Domesday*, under the heading also of Berdefelda, which the before-mentioned writers state applies to Great Bardfield. Why one entry under the heading of Berdefelda should apply to Great Bardfield, and the other to Bardfield Sailing, both being similar, I am at a loss to know.

Now with reference to the second entry, it would certainly appear that the lands comprising the Sailings were held by one man, and probably was one parish. If such were the case, the former entry could not apply to Bardfield Sailing. I should like to quote Morant on this point because I think it may throw a ray of light on the subject of this paper, viz., the round tower of Bardfield or Little Sailing Church. He says in his *History of Essex*, under Great Sailing, "There are in this county two Sailings, contiguous, but in different hundreds, namely Great or Old Sailing, in the hundred of Hinckford, and Little or Bardfield Sailing in the half hundred of Freshwell. They were not originally distinct, but even at the time of the general survey comprised under the heading of Sailinges, which John, son of Waleram, and his under-tenant, Turstinus *Wisgar*, held then, but had belonged, in Edward the Confessor's reign, to a certain freeman. From the Survey it appears there was then a priest, from whence it may be reasonably inferred that there was then a distinct parish, and hence some place of worship; but the present church of Great Sailing is not so ancient, having most probably been erected about the reign of King Henry II."

Now this remark of Morant's is certainly of interest as far as it goes, because, if the present parishes of the Sailings were one in Saxon times, and also at the time of

the Survey, and a priest existed (as the entry before mentioned states), undoubtedly there was some place of worship or sacred edifice; and as the present church of Great Sailing is not of greater antiquity than King Henry II's reign, it therefore is not unreasonable to suggest that Bardfield Sailing or Little Sailing Church may have been the sacred edifice to which the said priest was attached, because to my mind there is in the round tower of this church traces of much greater antiquity than exist in the church of Great Sailing.

Before attempting to describe the church of Bardfield Sailing or its round tower, which is the chief object of this paper, I should like to draw your attention to the following MS. (Braybroke, 234), which has been copied by Newcourt and all the county topographers, and is as follows:—"The church or chapel of Bardfield Sailing, annexed to Great Bardfield, was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul in March 1380, and the cemetery or yard where it stood was consecrated the next year by the Bishop of Pisa, commissioned by the Bishop of London; and 11th Dec. 1384, by his successor, Robert de Braybroke, who likewise confirmed the following agreement between the vicars of Great Bardfield and the inhabitants of this hamlet, namely, 'that they should have free liberty of burying in the said chapel or chapel-yard such as died in their hamlet, or desired to be buried there; and that they should yearly, on the Feast of Ascension and of the dedication of their mother church, come hither and make their accustomed offerings; and also bear the third part of the third part of the charge belonging to the lordship's quarter, towards the repairing or rebuilding of the mother church of Great Bardfield. Upon non-performance, the chapel and chapel-yard to be interdicted till satisfaction be made.'"

Among the Patents, 22 Richard II, there is an exemplification of the composition made between the Vicar of Great Bardfield or Berdefelda and the parishioners of Berdefield Sailing. From this it will be seen that at the time of the dedication of the church, Bardfield Sailing was a hamlet to Great Bardfield, and the existing church a chapel of ease; from which circumstance the hamlet may have been called Bardfield Sailing.

In the reign of King Henry VIII this chapel had the misfortune to be called by him out of its name, a chantry, and so granted, with all that belonged to it, by Patent, 20th Sept. 1546, to Henry Nedham, who the same month, by licence, conveyed it, by the name of "The Chantry of Great Bardfield", to George Maxey, etc.

In 1424 Catharine, wife of Richard Downham, of Old Hall, in Little Rayne, gave 3s. 4d. to the Chapel of Bardfield Sailing, in honour of St. Margaret the Virgin. This record may refer to the chapel in the south aisle of the church, to be hereafter mentioned, which may probably have been dedicated to St. Margaret, where there may have been an altar in honour of her.

The dedication of the church appears a little uncertain, for on referring to Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, I find the following, "Sailing Parva, *alias* St. Peter Capel, to Bardfield Magna"; whereas in Bacon's *Liber Regis* it is "Bardfield Sailing Chapel" (St. Margaret).

The Church.—The Church of Little Sailing is situated on a flat plain of land. From the summit of the round tower a considerable stretch of country can be seen. The church is about eight miles from the nearest round towered church, viz., Great Leghs, and ten miles from Bromfield. It is a modest little structure of the Decorated period, and would call for very little remark either from an architectural or antiquarian point of view, except that it has a round tower, at the west end, of uncommon design and proportions.

The church consists of a nave rectangular in plan, and having on the south side an aisle divided from the nave by an arcade of three Pointed arches of pleasing proportions. At the extreme or easternmost end of this aisle a chapel once existed, probably the one dedicated to St. Margaret (before mentioned), and of which only a modest piscina and sedilia remain, calling for no remark. All trace of ornament, in the shape of grotesque figure-heads at the bases of the mouldings surrounding the arches, both inside and outside the church, have been disfigured, probably at the time of the Commonwealth. Each face of the heads has the appearance of having been struck full in the face with a hard piece of material, thereby smashing the figure. At the east end of the church is a

chancel of very small dimensions, only a few feet in length, and having the appearance of being truncated in early times. The chancel-arch is small; alongside which is a slanting doorway leading from the chancel to what was the chapel, and probably takes the place of a hagioscope or squint.

The existing floor of the church is at a higher level than the original floor, the latter having been lately discovered by the Vicar. It is composed (so much as has been uncovered) of glazed tiles of a buff colour, and decorated with a floral design. The windows in the nave and aisle are all of the Decorated period, and probably coeval with the church.

The Register dates from 1561.

The Tower.—The tower, externally, is curious, and of somewhat remarkable design, and differs from any of those previously described in that it is built in three storeys, each storey being less in diameter and height than the one immediately beneath it. At first sight the tower has the appearance of being coeval with the main structure of the nave. The walls of the tower appear to be built or bonded into the main walls of the nave; but on a closer examination it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty as the tower and nave-walling are covered with plaster and whitewash inside and out, and the junction cannot be seen, if any exists; while, on the other hand, the windows, mouldings, and parapet of the tower are undoubtedly of the same period as the nave. The tower is three diameters in height, being 56 ft. high from the floor, in the inside, to the top of the stone parapets surmounting the tower, and having at base an external diameter of 19 ft., and an internal diameter of 11 ft. 6 in.; consequently the walls have a thickness, at the base (throughout the first storey) of 4 ft., and in the second storey about 3 ft.

The tower, like those before described, is perfectly round both inside and out, except on its face or junction with the nave; but in this face, above the nave-roof, it is perfectly round. The walls in the inside of the tower are vertical, consequently the diameter of the tower in the inside is the same at base as at summit; but the thickness of the walls varies at each storey, due to the

set-off on the outside. This set-off is about 9 in., and consists of a plinth of soft stone considerably splayed. It is now much worn away, and has weathered badly. The walls on the outside of each storey are also vertical, the diameter of each storey being the same throughout. The summit of the tower is surmounted by a plain stone parapet which was once moulded, but all the mouldings are now worn away.

The only entrance into the tower is from the nave, through a small pointed opening or tower-arch, 3 ft. 8 in. wide. This arch is of stone, and has on the nave side a moulding encircling the arch, with a grotesque figure-head at its termination or springing.

The tower, like those before described, is built of rough flint rubble masonry, the stones being set in lime-mortar, which is somewhat soft and crumbling. The flints in the interior of the tower (so much as can be seen of them on account of whitewash and plaster) are laid in rough courses; but in the upper part of the tower considerable care appears to have been taken to lay them in regular courses.

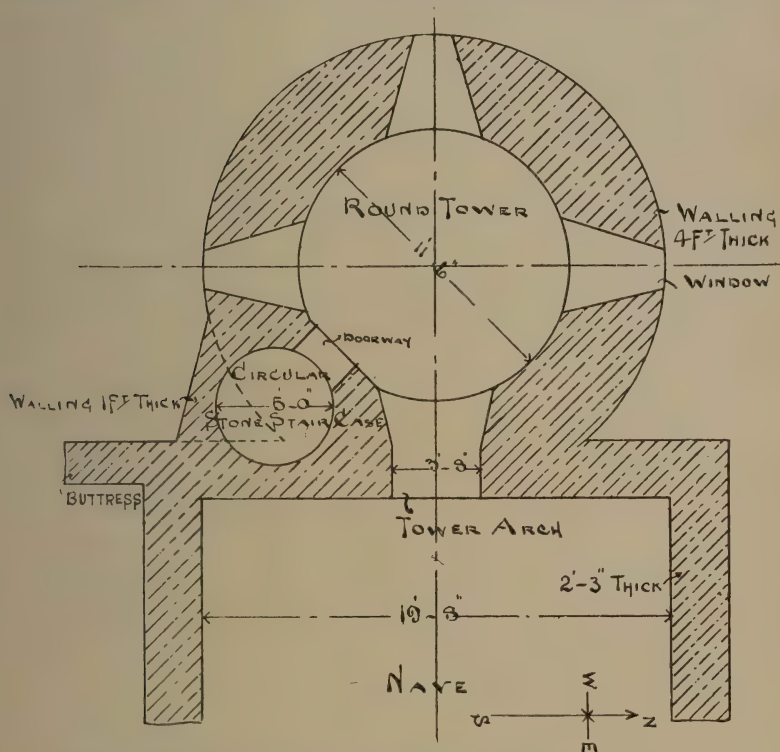
The tower has nine openings in it: three in the base or lower storey, two in the middle, and four in the upper or top storey. The windows in each face are immediately above one another, and are situated on the north, west, and south faces. These windows are all pointed, and of the Decorated period, being probably coeval with those in the nave. The windows in the upper storey are double-light windows, whereas those in the base and intermediate storey are single-light windows, and only about 1 ft. wide, the arches, mouldings, and tracery being of stone.

Nearly all the freestone in the tower (such as in the windows, plinths, quoins, parapet, and staircase, is of clunch and a soft limestone; there are, however, a few pieces of hard, coarse, shelly limestone very much like Barnack, which has weathered well; but the clunch and soft limestone are fast perishing.

All the window-openings in the interior of the tower are heavily splayed, similar to those in the towers before described.

In the south angle of the tower (as shown in the

sketch) is a circular stone staircase encased or built within an irregularly shaped tower, the external walls of which are also of rubble, and about 1 ft. thick, being built into the main walling of the tower and nave. This staircase is approached from the inside of the tower, through a small opening 2 ft. 3 in. wide, having a segmental arch of stone. The stairs lead up to two oak floors or stages within the tower; the lowest of these floors being at a level of 21 ft. above the ground-floor of the tower, and



Plan of Bardfield Sailing or Little Sailing Round Church Tower.

corresponds with the level of the top of the first storey or base. The outside appearance of this staircase is that of an ugly, heavy buttress. It is surmounted, or gathered in at the top, where it enters the third storey of the main tower, by a sort of rough-built conical cap of stone. In the walling of this staircase are three or four openings in the form of crosses, which give light to the interior of the staircase. This staircase is undoubtedly an innova-

tion, and formed no part of the original round tower, and was probably built, during the fifteenth century, for the purpose of ascending to the floors before mentioned. These floors may have been rooms used by the priest, but on this point I have no direct evidence. In the interior of the tower one can see where the main walling has been cut away to accommodate the staircase, and afterwards rebuilt.

In the east face of the tower (from the interior), looking towards the altar, and about 2 ft. above the first oak floor, and just beneath the apex of the nave-roof, is a small pointed opening of similar dimensions, and at the same level as the two windows in this second storey. What the function of this opening was I am at a loss to know, unless it was used by the priest to see the altar, which he could conveniently do if occupying this floor. In some of the other towers before described I have noticed the remains of similar openings, but blocked up or filled in with rubble-masonry or modern brickwork. I think, however, the more rational explanation of this opening is that it existed before the nave was attached to the tower, or perhaps before the nave-roof was carried so high. One can hardly imagine an opening being made through the tower walling for the mere purpose of looking into the interior of the nave.

There is only one bell in the tower, the date it bears being 1768.

The lower part of the tower is now used as a vestry, in common with most of the other round towers of Essex. In *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1811 (Part I, p. 47) an engraving of this tower will be seen.

Now, what is the origin of this somewhat strange structure is the question which suggests itself, as it appears so entirely out of character with the existing nave or chancel? Is the structure, as a whole, coeval with the main structure of the church? Or did the lower part of the tower exist prior to the church, or form part of another building? Or is it built on the foundation of an earlier church? From the MS. I have quoted, giving the date of the dedication of the church as 1380, there is nothing to lead one to suppose that a church existed here prior to this one, while, on the other hand, it is not

unreasonable to suggest that a building or church may have existed, and that the lower part of the round tower formed part of it. I am rather inclined to lean to this idea, as the position of the tower relatively to the nave, the approach to the tower, the position of the windows, the diameter and proportion of the lower part of the tower, the thickness of the walls, the materials of which they are constructed, have a similarity to the towers before described. Undoubtedly the upper part of the tower above the second storey, and the window openings, are of the same period as the nave, these Decorated features being probably innovations.

As to the lower part of the tower being of the Decorated period, it is to my mind a query; and if ever the tower and nave-walls were stripped of their plaster covering, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the rubble-masonry in the lower part of the tower would be found of greater antiquity than the upper and the walling of the nave. Besides, the walls of the tower are considerably thicker than those of the nave.

With reference to the entry in the *Domesday Book*, before mentioned, under Sailings, this certainly is some little evidence in favour of an early sacred building in the neighbourhood. Again, as there appears an uncertainty in the dedication of the church, it does not require a great stretch of the imagination to suggest that if a church did exist prior to the existing one, it was dedicated to St. Margaret, as it was not uncommon in early times to rededicate a church after entirely rebuilding.

Because the windows, etc., are of the Decorated period, it is no absolute proof that the tower is of that period, as we are all so well aware how little the work of one period was admired or appreciated in the period immediately succeeding it.

To sum up the result of this investigation. I think that sufficient evidence has been adduced, so far, to justify the assertion that the tower is at any rate of considerable antiquity.

NOTE ON FURNESS ABBEY.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(Read 6 Jan. 1892.)

IN my paper on Rievaulx Abbey, read at our Congress at York last autumn, I stated that Furness Abbey was the first Cistercian foundation in England, it having been founded in the year A.D. 1127. My authority for this statement was the list of Cistercian abbeys, with the dates of their foundations, contained in the Cottonian MS., Faustina, B vii, fo. 36, in the British Museum, a paper on which appears in vol. xxvi of our *Journal*, p. 281, by our Hon. Sec., W. de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Furness being entered in that list thus, "MCXXVII, viij Idus Junii, Abbatia de Furnesio." Mr. Birch also gives a list of Cistercian houses in Great Britain, with foundation dates as hitherto fixed, the entry of Furness being, "Furness, co. Lanc., founded A.D. 1124, at Tulket; removed in A.D. 1127 to Bekangesgil, or Furness"; and he says "the Cottonian list distinctly awards the seniority to Furness, whose entry into the order dates from 1127."

Since reading this paper I have received a communication from our Associate, Mr. John Reynolds of Bristol, in which he states that "Furness, founded in 1127, was Savigniac, and did not become Cistercian until 1148, when, in the time of the fifth Abbot, it, with the parent house at Savigny, and all other dependent houses, was handed over by the then Abbot of Savigny, with the consent of the Pope, to St. Bernard, and all then became Cistercian. To show more fully that it was not so before, is proved by the fact that the Abbot and monks of Furness objected to the transfer, and appealed to the Pope to be allowed to remain under their old rules. At first they were successful, but at last had to give in."

"It is most interesting at Furness to see how, in later times, the monks altered their buildings from the original Savigniac to their own Cistercian arrangements."

Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, under the title of "Abbey

of Savigny", bears out Mr. Reynolds' statement. He says "Savigny was at first a hermitage, but in 1112 Raould de Fugeres and John de Laudere founded an abbey here, which in 1148 was united to the Cistercian Order. Long Benyngton in Lincolnshire, Field Dallyng in Norfolk, and Furness in Lancashire, were the English cells to this house"; and he refers to Willis' *Alien Priories*, vol. i, p. 150, and *Neustria Pia*, pp. 676-90.

In the sixth volume of our *Journal* (p. 309) there is a paper by Mr. E. Sharpe on Furness Abbey, which is devoted mainly to its architectural features; but he alludes to its foundation in 1127, and to its having been an affiliation of the Abbey of Savigny, and the adoption by it and its dependencies of the Cistercian rule in A.D. 1148.

A question having thus been raised as to the correctness of the entry in the Cottonian MS., Faustina, as to the date of the foundation of Furness as a Cistercian Monastery, and the history of the Abbey, apart from its architectural features, not having been dealt with in our *Journal*, I venture on the following summary of its early history.

The religious Order of Savigny was founded by Vitalis de Mortain, who was the son of Reinfred and Roharde, persons of some fortune, of Fierciville, three leagues from Bayeux. He was ordained priest, and became chaplain to Robert Earl of Mortain, brother, by the mother's side, to King William the Conqueror, who conferred upon him a prebend in the collegiate church which he had founded in his own town in the year 1082.

About ten years after this Vitalis retired amongst the rocks of Mortain, and in the year 1093 he repaired to St. Robert of Abrisel, in the Forest of Craon, in Anjou, whose disciples becoming very numerous, he divided them into three colonies. With one he himself founded the Order of Fontevraud; the second he committed to Raoul de la Futaye, who retired with his division into the Forest of Nid de Merle; the third colony, under the guidance of Vitalis, betook themselves to the Forest of Fougères, on the confines of Brittany. Raoul, the lord of the place, permitted them to continue there for some years undisturbed; but fearing that they might damage his forest, he gave them that of Savigny, near Avranches,

where Vitalis and his company settled. They agreed to live in community, and prevailed with Vitalis to beg of Raoul the remains of an old castle near Savigny. This Raoul gave, together with the whole forest, in which they built a Monastery to the honour of the Holy Trinity. The charter granted by Raoul was dated in 1112, and on the 2nd of March following confirmed by Henry King of England, who was then at Avranches, which at that time belonged to him. Vitalis prescribed the rules of St. Benedict, with some peculiar constitutions. They chose for their dress a grey habit. Their numbers increased so fast that in thirty-six years the Order became one of the most celebrated in France.

In 1148 Pope Eugenius III visited St. Bernard at his Monastery at Clairvaux. Eugenius had been a monk there under St. Bernard. After this visit he assisted at a General Council or Chapter of the Order held at Citeaux, in which the whole Order of Savigny, consisting of thirty monasteries, was matriculated with that of Citeaux.

Furness Abbey, as it now stands, was founded in A.D. 1127 by Stephen, then Count of Moreton and Bologne, afterwards King of England. The history of the foundation, in Latin, in Dugdale's charters of the Abbey (Num.1) is very specific in fixing the date. It says in A.D. 1127, on the nones of July, from the foundation of Cistertium in the year 29, but from the foundation of Savigny in the fifteenth year, and in the second year of the pontificate of Pope Honorius II, but in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry after the conquest of England, there was founded the Monastery of Furness by the noble man, Stephen Count of Moreton and Bologne, in a Vale which then was called Bekangesgill; but the same Monastery had been formerly founded in Anidyrnes, in a place called Tulkit, A.D. 1124, on the 4th none of July, and there held the site for three years and three days previously to where now it has been founded. But it was founded as well there as here of the Order of Savigny; that is, under the rule of St. Benedict, of whose Order the monks had been professors; and the colour of their habit was grey.

West says they came into England under the direction of Evanus or Ewanus, and seating themselves at Tulket,

near Preston, in Anaunderness, chose him to be their first Abbot.

At the close of Mr. Birch's paper on the Cistercian Abbeys he adds, "an unique table of the Cistercian houses, from MS. Digby xi, fo. 17, in the Bodleian Library", in which Furness appears thus, "Forneis Beilande Crumbemare", etc., "filiæ Sauigni." There is no date to this table.

It seems, therefore, clear that Furness cannot claim to be the first Cistercian foundation in England, although it was founded earlier than any of the Cistercian abbeys in this country, but that it was, from the date of its foundation at Tulket in 1124, and afterwards at Furness in 1127, until its incorporation into the Cistercian Order in 1148, of the Order of Savigny, under the rule of St. Benedict.

In addition to the authorities here referred to, *Gallia Christiana* may be consulted.

TRADITIONS OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA.

THE history of Constantine the Great is of extreme interest in connection with York, where he once lived and ruled. Eboracum is in some sense the city of Constantine, who, after he left Roman Britain, became one of the most famous Emperors in the history of the world.

The question before us is, if Constantine was such a prominent personage in Roman Britain (so prominent, indeed, that old-fashioned writers assumed—incorrectly, as criticism shows—that he was of British descent, forgetting that Helena was more probably a Dalmatian than a Briton), might we not expect that some traditions of him, or remains of his rule, might still be found, if not among the Anglo-Saxon, at least among the Celtic populations of Britain? I shall mainly confine my inquiry to the most Celtic county of England, *i.e.*, Cornwall, at the other end of Britain from the city of York, and show that there are traces, besides those of historic record, of Constantine's influence in the Far West.

1. In the Middle Ages there must have been very lively memories among the miners (to whose descendants Constantine is now but a name) of Constantine's history and conversion. It is true that books were then scarce, education (in the sense of the "three R's") very rare, the Cornish language, and not the English, the tongue of the people; and yet Constantine's name and life must have been a common topic, about four hundred years ago, in hundreds of miners' cottages. The way of teaching religious history then was different from that used now. It was not by books nor tracts, but by the drama. As in Athens in the days of Sophocles, so in Cornwall, the drama, with its matchless power of appealing both to the eye and ear, was the great vehicle of historical instruction. Perhaps Shakespeare, in a later age, aimed that it should be so in England, and in his *King John*, his

Henry IV, V, VI, VIII, and other historic plays, wanted to set forth to the people the story of England's past by the drama, now mainly an amusement, but then a vehicle of instruction. One of the chief plays in the Cornish language was the drama of Constantine, or, as it calls itself, the Life of St. Sylvester.

This drama is not accordant, it is true, with trustworthy evidence as to Constantine's real history. It represents him as a persecutor, which he was not ; but possibly there was a certain confusion of mind, mixing him up with the later Diocletian persecutions, and holding him blameable for them. Sometimes these historic traditions are worth considering as throwing a light on what common people thought at the time of the historical events referred to.

The story of Constantine having suffered from leprosy, and it being proposed by the doctors of the time that a bath in the blood of children might cure it, is a quaint mediæval legend here included. Constantine is represented as indignantly refusing it, and willing to suffer himself rather than make others suffer. For his unselfishness he is rewarded by cure and conversion to Christianity.

So goes the Cornish legend of him,—a reflection of traditions current in the Middle Ages, but of which we do not seem to get contemporary evidence. The drama has certain passages of rude power, and must have been impressive when acted.

2. But this is not all. The name Constantine was popular in Cornwall during the Middle Ages. One of the western parishes, near Falmouth, was and is dedicated to a St. Constantine ; but it seems not to be the Roman Emperor, but a Cornish King called by his name. Still King Constantine may have been so named from the celebrity of the Emperor.

3. The name of the family of the Cossentins is probably a corruption of Constantine. Legend asserts they are the descendants of the old Cornish kings.

4. Archæological remains exist showing the activity of Constantine or his officers in Britain. The Constantine Stone in St. Hilary Churchyard brings before us the evidence of the occupation of Cornwall, even in sight of the

Land's End, in the days of "the divine Flavius Constantine Augustus". Here, in this churchyard (as I may remind you), we find the traces of English history in archæological remains from the age of Constantine the Great to that of Victoria, all more or less *in situ*.

5. The symbol of the *labarum* of Constantine, the X and the P of the symbol of the early Church, may be seen engraved in granite on a stone over Phillack Church porch.

The great personality of Constantine does, therefore, seem to have impressed itself on Roman Britain and on the Romano-British people. It is true the Anglo-Saxons (strangers coming to England from Teutonic shores) may have had little memory or thought of the great Emperor of York ; but it was not so with the Celtic Britons, who dimly retained during long ages the flickering memory of the great Christian Emperor who in his earlier days reigned in the city of York, and who made Roman Britain so prominent in the history of the civilised world. As he stands beneath the glorious Arch of Constantine, or in the Basilica of Constantine at Rome, an Englishman ought to remember that it was the same Emperor, whose archæological monuments there are so glorious, who once reigned in Eboracum, and who was so long remembered in Celtic Britain.

DISCOVERY OF ETRUSCAN TEMPLES AT FALERIA.

BY DR. RUSSELL FORBES.

(*Read 21 Jan. 1891.*)

THE Etruscan city of Faleria was of Argive origin, and is now known as Civita Castellana. It was taken by the Romans in 242 B.C., and later a new town, Falisci (*Falerium Romanum*), was founded four miles to the west. This was in its turn destroyed, and the old site reoccupied in the early Middle Ages. The site is typical,—a tongue of land surrounded by deep ravines, the tip of the tongue being east. From the Station the town is entered on the north side.

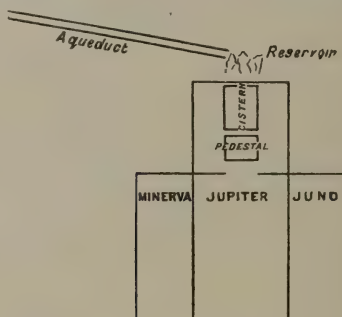
TEMPLE OF THE TRINITY.

Through the ravine on the north side of the town runs a stream called the *Fossa Sacra*. Half a kilometre beyond the town, to the north-east, this is joined by the stream, *Rio Maggiore*, from Falisci, now S. Maria di Falleri. On the left bank facing the junction of these two streams, below the cliff of the Vigna Rosa, considerable remains of an Etruscan temple were excavated in 1886-7, at a place locally called *Celle*. Half a kilometre beyond, the *Treia* stream, which flows in the ravines on the south side of the town, joins the *Rio Maggiore*; united they flow into the Tiber.

The temple faced towards the south-west, or city, and consisted of three naves, like the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill, which was of Etruscan origin. At the end of the middle nave is a rectangular chamber (sanctuary), in the centre of which is the pedestal for a statue, and behind this an *impluvium* or cistern. At the back of the temple (outside) is a fountain supplied by an aqueduct cut through the rock. It was found to contain *ex-votos*,—offerings of small figures in terra-cotta, bronze, and peperino.

The rear wall of the temple is 47 yds. 2 ft. 4 in. long.

The central nave is 7 yds. 2 ft. 4 in. wide, and each of the side-naves 4 yds. 1 ft. 4 in. wide. The partition and side-walls are very thick. The temple was probably 55 yds. 1 ft. 8 in. long, according to the Etruscan proportions of Vitruvius (iv, 7). The platform is composed of blocks of tufa, without cement. The chamber at the end is the same width as the central nave, but 8 yds. 2 ft. 8 in. deep. The stream in front evidently destroyed the portico of the temple, which seems to have had three rows of columns, and there were columns on the flanks. The architrave was of wood, and portions of the terracotta (coloured) decorations found are preserved in the Museum in Rome (Villa Papa Giulio). In the end chamber was found a head in *peperino*, with traces of a bronze wreath and spear-head. The head is very archaic, and represents probably Juno, one of the trinity.



Plan of the Temple of the Trinity.

In these details one cannot fail to be struck with the similarity to the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter, and we believe that we have here another temple to the Etruscan trinity, Menrva, Tinia, Thalna (Minerva, Jupiter, Juno). The temple was restored after the Romans took the town in 242, and probably abandoned when the city was forsaken, and the colony of Falisci founded by Cæsar. "Colonia Junonia quæ adpellatur Faliscos."¹ It is not certain when the original town was destroyed. Livy² says "the Falisci rebel, and are subdued in six days" (A.U.C. 511). The temple may have been destroyed then, being outside the walls; but we are inclined to think much later, in the civil wars, after which wars the later city was founded. The old city was not existing in Ovid's time.

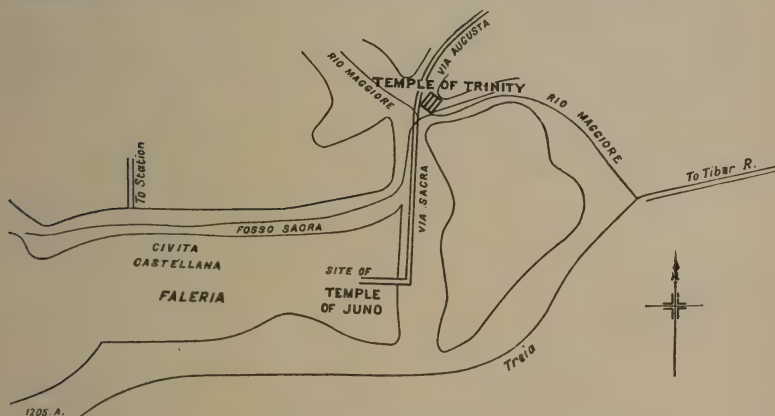
¹ Frontinus,

² Livy, *Ep.* xix,

TEMPLE OF JUNO QUIRITIS.

On the east side of the town, within the walls of ancient Faleria, at a place called *Lo Scasato*, some remains have been uncovered of the Temple of Juno Quiritis, which in its day was celebrated. The decorations and objects recovered are in the Museum, Villa Papa Giulio, Rome.

"Juno is worshipped by the Falisci, who, in honour of her father, Curis, hath also received her surname",¹ Quiritis; that is, spear-bearer. Cronus, or Saturn, was the father of Hera (Juno). The priests of Rhea, or Ops (Saturn's wife), were called by the Greeks "Quretes". "Add, too, the ancient Tattius and the Falisci as Juno worshippers, whom I see succumb to the Romans."²



Positions of Temples.

In these passages we have, perhaps, the explanation of Juno's title. Cures was the city of Titus Tatius, who was a devotee of Juno. The Sabine word was *Quiris*, meaning a spear. There Juno was "Juno Quiritis" (Juno of the Spearmen), and from Cures this custom was introduced into Faleria. "A spear is decreed sacred to Juno, and most of her statues are supported by a spear, and she is surnamed the Quiritis Goddess, for a spear of old was called *quiris*, wherefore they surnamed Mars 'Quirinus'."³

¹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, 24.

² Ovid, *F.* vi, 49.

³ Plutarch, *Rom. Ques.*, 87.

"The Temple of Juno at Faleria is built in the same form as that at Argos. The manner of the ceremonies was the same. Holy women served the temple, and an unmarried girl, called *canephoros* (basket-bearer), began the sacrifice, with choruses of virgins who sang praises to the goddess in songs of their country."¹

At Lanuvium (Civita Lavinia), an Argive colony, Juno was worshipped, and called by the Romans Juno Sos-pita".² Cicero³ describes the Juno of Lanuvium as "represented with the goat's skin, a spear, a shield, and broad sandals. But neither the Juno of Argos nor the Roman Juno are represented in this manner; so that the Argives, the Lanuvinians, and we, ascribe different forms to Juno." A statue as thus described by Cicero (Juno Quiritis by Polykletus) is in the Vatican Museum, and from it we can judge what the statue was like at Faleria.

Notices and inscriptions show that the temple was in use after A.D. 265; so although the city was abandoned by the Romans, the worship was still kept up.

From the temple the Via Sacra leads down to the junction of the *Fossa Sacra* with the *Rio Maggiore*. In front of the Temple of the Trinity it divides, one branch going to the left, to the Roman Falisci (the Via Augusta); the other to the right, the Via Flaminia.

In the excavations some few blocks of tufa were found, but the most precious recovery was part of the architectural terra-cotta decorations of the pediment and entablature of the temple. These are now in the Museum at Rome. Amongst them is the figure of a bearded man, winged, and with a tunic, holding in each hand a flaming torch; and a female winged figure, draped, grasping in each hand the paws of a rampant tiger. These figures, twenty-eight in all, like the decorations of both the temples, are coloured. They formed part of the architrave of the side of the temple, and may represent Cronus and Rhea. This entablature has been very cleverly put together in the Museum, and its effect is highly impressive.

An inscription⁴ of the time of Antoninus Pius exists at

¹ Dionysius, i, 21.

² Livy, vii, 14; Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 41.

³ *Nat. Deo*, i, 29.

⁴ Gruter, 308-1.

the Church of St. George; another,¹ of A.D. 260, speaks of restorations; another² records repairs made to the road leading up to the temple from the Roman town of Falisci; the Via Augusta as far as the stream, and the Via Sacra from the stream up to the temple. Late second century.

The Via Augusta, from the Cisinina Gate (at Falasce) as far as to the stream, and the Sacred Way to the Portico in the Grove of Juno the Spear-Bearer, by age decayed, was entirely restored, for the sum of £833 : 6 : 8, by the two Publii, Nigrinus Martial, the father, and Dexter his son, and established for the honour and freedom of all. They themselves dedicated the gift. These restorations were evidently executed after the site of the Etruscan city had been abandoned.

We have handed down to us, in Ovid's *Amores* (iii, 13), a graphic account of the Festival of Juno as he witnessed it, and his remarks agree with what we have stated above.

"Apple-bearing Falisci³ was my wife's birthplace.

(*I accompany her there*) that she might be near

The walls conquered by thee, Camillus,⁴

When the priestesses were preparing to celebrate

With games and (*the sacrifice*) of a native heifer

The chaste festival of Juno.

My stay there was greatly rewarded in gaining knowledge of the rites,

Although the way there is by a path difficult to ascend.⁵

There stands an ancient grove of trees, dark and very shady.

Behold it! You must concede that a deity inhabits the place.

An altar receives the prayers and votive incense of the devout;

An altar without art, made by ancient hands.

From here, when the pipe sounds the solemn tune,

The annual procession passes along the decorated ways.

Snow-white heifers⁶ which Falisca has nourished on the grass

Of her fields are led amidst the applauses of the people;

Even heifers not yet threatening with their foreheads;

And as a minor victim, the pig from his humble sty;

¹ *C. I. L.*, xi, 3138.

² *Ibid.*, xi, 3126.

³ The poet is speaking of the Roman Falisci.

⁴ He took the Etruscan town in 392 B.C., when the incident with the schoolmaster occurred.

⁵ The way up from the stream to the site of the temple is very steep.

⁶ The poet here speaks of the triple sacrifice called *Suovetaurilia*, and which was introduced into Rome by Servius Tullius. The three animals are often represented in Roman reliefs. They occur twice on the monument of M. Aurelius in the Forum.

The ram¹ also, with his horns curving over his rough temples.

By the way the goddess is to pass, young and timid girls
Pass before, spreading out their vestments on the broad way.

Their virgin tresses are bound with gold and gems,
And the superb golden cloak conceals their feet.

Veiled in simple white robes, after the Grecian custom,
The sacred objects are placed upon their heads.³

Then the country people keep silence as the gorgeous procession
comes.

The goddess follows after her priestesses.

In appearance the procession is Argive.⁴

Helesus taught the sacred rites of Juno to his Faliscans.

May she be to me and to her people ever friendly.”

¹ Literally, “the leader of the flock”.

² Five lines here foreign to the subject.

³ This agrees with Dionysius, i, 21.

⁴ This agrees with Plutarch, *R. Q.*, 87.

⁵ Four lines relative to Halaceus, the founder of the city.

THE HORN OF ULPHUS IN YORK MINSTER.

BY J. H. MACMICHAEL, ESQ.

(Read at the York Congress, 1891.)

AMONGST the abounding antiquities of the city of York, the treasured object known as the Horn of Ulphus may be cited as one of the most conspicuous, and one which is prolific of interest to visitors to the Cathedral both from the circumstances in which it came into the possession of the Chapter, and because of its extrinsic value as a relic of a custom in respect to the tenure of land, which is probably of the highest antiquity.



Horn of Ulphus.

The drinking-horn proper, made from the horn of the wild ox, of which the "olifant" was an ectype born of luxury, was confined, says Pliny, to the barbarous natives of the North,¹ and the statement is confirmed by what we know of its use by the Scandinavian, the High German, and the Saxon branches of the Teutonic race, and its discovery in the sepulchral tumuli of the Anglo-Saxons.²

¹ "Urorum cornibus barbari septentrionales potant urnaque bina capitis unius cornua implevit." (Pliny, lib. xi, c. 45.) "Dans les monuments qui représentent des combats des Grecs et des Barbares, l'un de ceux-ci tient quelquefois la bucina qui est alors opposée à la longue trompette droite (σάλπιξ) de leurs adversaires." (Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*.) On a fragment of Samian ware (see Catalogue of the Roach Smith Museum, p. 37) Sileni are represented, one of whom is drinking out of an ox-horn, whilst he holds a wine-skin in his left hand. See also an illustration of a "four-squared marble", on one side of which, beneath an inscription (*Laribus Augusti*), are two young men crowned with leaves and flowers; the one holding in one hand a cup, and in the other an ox-horn; and the other also holds in one hand a horn, and in the other a basket. (Montfaucon's *Antiquities Explained*, vol. i, p. 203, plate xci, fig. 1.)

² See *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xl, and Anglo-Saxon Department, British Museum; and a graphic illustration of the use of the drinking-horn is

The importance of the horn in early times, for drinking and blowing purposes, can hardly be over-estimated. It was used as a summons for washing, preparatory to sitting down to meat,¹ having been superseded later, as in the monasteries, by the bell, and in other circumstances by the trumpet. It was used to call the army together among the Gaels, before the invention of the bagpipes, and, in short, for all purposes of assembly, while it survives to this day upon the mountain farms of Palestine, where it is employed to call the labourers home at meal-time. Ancient song is full of its praises; and it is cited by Mr. Thomas Wright² as a curious proof of the high appreciation of the horn, that in the pictures of warlike expeditions, where two or three articles are heaped together in a kind of symbolical representation of the value of the spoils, drinking-horns are generally included.

Keramos, the Greek word for pottery (whence our word "ceramic"), is supposed to be derived from *keras*, a horn,—a supposition strengthened by the extreme probability that far beyond Pliny's ken, and even before the impress of the human foot in the plastic clay suggested the moulding of the first earthen cup,³ this most primi-

afforded in the Bayeux Tapestry, where Harold is departing on his expedition to William the Norman. His retinue are lingering at the feast with enormous drinking-horns in hand, whilst a messenger, who carries a smaller blowing-horn, tries to persuade them to quit the table for the boats. See also, for representation of the drench-horn in Saxon times, MSS. Cott., Claud. B. 4, fol. 32b, where two horns are depicted lying one at each end of the table.

For the comparative dimensions, from tip to tip, of the horns of the extinct species of the genus *Bos*, formerly existing in this country, see H. Wood's *Description of the Fossil Skull of an Ox*, pp. 18-29.

"The Britons", says Fosbrooke, "had three kinds of horns: 1, that out of which the king drank; 2, that by which he summoned his retinue; 3, the horn of his chief huntsman." (*Encycl. of Antiquities*.)

A pair of horns, 33 in. long by 15½ in circumference at the base, accompanying the remains probably of some chief buried on the spot, were discovered in an ancient British tumulus on the Wiltshire Downs. (See Henry Wood's *Description*, etc.)

¹ "The Lady of the Fountain", vol. i of *The Mabinogion*, by Lady Charlotte Guest (1849), p. 51.

² *Domestic Manners and Customs*, p. 32.

³ The ancient Britons also had bronze trumpets fashioned on the mould of the tusk. The reverse of a bronze coin of Cunobeline bears a centaur blowing one of these horns.

By this conjecture of Jacquemart, in conjunction with the fact that the horns and tusks of animals of the neolithic period have been found

tive of drinking-vessels was familiar to the grasp of pre-historic man; and we may justly claim for it that from the time when the rights of property were first conceded in organised communities, when there were no laws but those which custom or precedent dictated (for as Lord Ellesmere says, "the common laws of England are not originally *leges scriptæ*"), so long has the drinking-horn been used as an instrument of conveyance or transfer of land.

However seeming a contradiction it be to speak of a "horn" and the ivory tusk of the elephant as interchangeable terms, yet the ancients, owing probably to its growth, like that of the walrus, from the upper jaw,¹ seem to have regarded elephant-ivory as the horn of that pachyderm. Horns of ivory were not unknown to Tyre,² and Pliny speaks of "*cornua elephanti*".³ A horn, however, in the strict sense, the "*Cornu Ulphi*" cannot be called; and because it is of ivory, it should, I submit, be the more highly appreciated archæologically, since relics

engraved with the figures of animals, art may be said to have had its origin in the humble ox-horn, seeing that, as necessity was the mother of the mechanical arts, so the mechanical gave birth to the fine arts, and that practical art had its beginning in the facilities offered by the plastic clay for moulding objects into shape.

¹ This acceptation of the word "horn" as describing the tusk of the elephant is alluded to in Oppian's *Cynegeticks*. The French translation of the passage by E. J. Bourquin is as follows: "En effet ces deux glaives si forts, qui sortent de leur mâchoire et qui, semblables à des défenses, s'élèvent ensuite vers le ciel c'est sans aucune raison que le vulgaire les appelle des dents terribles; il nous paraît plus convenable à nous de les appeler des cornes, et la nature même des cornes nous engage à la faire.....chez un animal, toute excroissance de la mâchoire supérieure lorsqu'elle tient de la corne est dirigée vers le ciel; dirigée vers la terre c'est une dent véritable." (Book ii, pp. 182-3. 1877.)

² Ezekiel. There is some evidence that in early historic times the Asiatic elephant ranged much further west than it now does. See Rawlinson's *History of Phœnicia*.

³ *Hist. Nat.*, lib. xviii, cap. 1. Further, however, Pliny says:— "....."armis suis, quæ Juba cornua appellat Herodotus tanto antiquior et consuetudo melius, dentes"; and it deserves notice that when elephants were first seen in Italy they were called Lucanian oxen:—"Elephantos Italia primum vidit Pyrrhi regis bello et boves Lucas appellant, in Lucanio visos, anno urbis quadringentesimo septuagesimo secundo." (Lib. viii, c. 6.) Elephant occurs in Virgil's *Georgics* (lib. iii) as a metonymy for ivory: "In foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini."

of that beautiful substance, illustrating (as in this instance) the progress of ancient toreutic art, are of great rarity, owing to the high percentage of organic matter which ivory contains,¹ and which renders it, therefore, quickly susceptible to decay if left in contact with the earth. Thus of the hue of mother earth, if not crumbling to her consistency, are probably the slices of ivory that veneered the chryselephantine statues of ancient Greece,² the Olympian Zeus, the Argive Hera, and the Athena of the Parthenon; for, with the exception of a few small figures, no trace of ivory statues has yet been found,³ and earth had well-nigh claimed for her own the fragments of delicately carved ivory from Nimroud, now in the British Museum, but that these treasures of the toreutic art were (thanks to Professor Owen) preserved by a process which consists in replacing the gelatinous matter, giving them the appearance and consistency of recent ivory.⁴

Of the carved ivory diptycha and triptycha with which we have been made especially familiar by the Arundel Society in their production of "fictile" ivories, it is unnecessary to speak, except to say that at least half of the objects alluded to, and which are described in Mr. Westwood's *Catalogue of Fictile Ivories*, do not date before the twelfth century, and have, moreover, probably from their portability about the person in case of emergency, never been buried in the earth. The same may be said of the horns which served a purpose similar to that of Ulphus, and which were exhibited by that Society at South Kensington. These were eight in number, and included the Clan Clephane, the Bruce, and the Queen's College,

¹ According to Von Bibra's analyses from 40 to 43 per cent. The most ancient piece of carved ivory extant is probably a fragment of mammoth tusk with a mammoth engraved upon it, which was found in La Madeleine, France, and of which an illustration may be seen in Prof. Dawkins' *Cave-Hunting*, p. 346.

² "l'Asie Mineure possédait une multitude de statues et de colosses en or et ivoire dont le souvenir s'est perdu." (*Le Jupiter Olympien*, Quatremère de Quincey.)

³ Winckelmann's *Ancient Art*.

⁴ It was Professor Owen who, when consulted as to the preservation of the fragments on their arrival in England, perceived that it was to the loss of the gelatine that their decay was to be attributed; they were therefore boiled in that substance, with the foregoing happy result.

Oxford, horns, which, with others extant, will be briefly alluded to anon.

The story of the Ulphic Horn is as follows. Ulphus, "the son of Thorald", was an influential thegn (that is, "servant") of the King,¹ of Danish origin, who ruled as a Consul, with the title of Earl² ("Consul et insignis Comes"), over the western part of Deira,³ a division of the kingdom of Northumberland, bounded on the north by the Tyne, and on the south by the Humber. This Prince, of whom little or nothing else is known, was, however, not without honour in his father Thorald's adopted country; for the dignity of "Eorle"⁴ which he enjoyed (and it was at this time that the Danish title of Earl⁵ was first generally used) was of the same rank with that of Archbishop. This appears in the laws of Athelstane, where the head of a prelate with the latter title is set at equal value to that of an earl, namely 15,000 thrimsæ, whereas the value of a bishop's or an ealderman's head was set at 8,000 thrimsæ.

¹ The growth of the kingly power appears to have increased the importance of the dignity of thegnhood until it probably resembled that of satrapy under the ancient Persian monarchy. Before this growth took place the thegn, or "servant", was the "gesið", or companion of the king. These "gesidas", or followers, were personally attached to their king and to each other by the strongest tie of mutual trust. See Freeman's *Hist. of the Conquest*, vol. i, p. 91; see also *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the status of thegn and eorle.

² Cod. MSS. Cotton, Cleopatra, No. 11, cap. iv, p. 16.

³ Deira, like Kent and some other districts of Britain, seems to have retained a British name both for the land and its inhabitants long after it had been conquered by the Teutonic tribes, but became politically extinct at the Conquest. (Lee and Pulling's *Dict. of Eng. Hist.*, and Green's *Conquest of Eng.*, where much further information may be obtained.) It may be taken for what it is worth, in conjunction with the supposed Oriental origin of the Celtic races and of the Celtic language, that Deira is of frequent occurrence in the nomenclature of the East. There are in Khuzistan, Persia, a town, a river, and a plain of that name. The remarkable conformity between the religion of the ancient Druids and the ancient Persians is pointed out by Dr. Borlase in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, ed. 1769, p. 144 *et seq.*

⁴ General Introduction to Tyrrell's *History of England*. The position of an ealderman under the Anglo-Saxon régime carried the same weight with that of an "eorle" under the Danish. A "thrimsa" was a silver coin of the value of three pence or four pence, or by some considered of the value of a shilling.

⁵ "Vox enim Earle non Saxonica, sed Danica est." (*Vita Ælfredi Magni*, Spelman, lib. ii, note a, p. 81.)

This Ulphus had an altercation with his two sons, Archil and Norman, who had quarrelled about the future allotment of their father's estates,¹ and the dispute gave such high offence to the Prince that he straightway enfeoffed the Cathedral with *all* his lands and revenues. This is Camden's assertion, but its accuracy is disputed by Mr. Robert Davies in volume xxvi of the *Archæological Journal*, who there states that "Ulphus neither impoverished himself nor disinherited his sons"; and both Mr. Davies and Mr. Brooke, Somerset Herald, in vol. vi of *Archæologia*,² endeavour to show that Camden errs in his statement with regard to Ulphus' gift consisting of *all* his lands ("omnes terras"); that, in point of fact, Ulphus was in possession of large estates after his gift to the Church, and that his sons also held estates in the district in the time of Edward the Confessor. The most reasonable explanation offered seems to be that of Mr. Brooke, who remarks that Ulphus probably gave all he had power to give; for there might be settlements which prevented his alienating the whole of his estate from his family, especially to a religious house.

To confirm this investiture Ulphus gave to the Church, as a pledge of his good faith, an important and valuable personal requisite in the form of his own drinking-horn of carved ivory,³ from which he had previously drunk

¹ "et propter altercationem filiorum suorum senioris et junioris super dominiis post mortem mox omnes fecit æque pares. Nam in dilato Eboracum divertit et cornu quo bibere consuevit vino replevit et coram altari Deo et beato Petro Apostolorum principi *omnes terras* et redditus flexis genibus propinavit." (Camden, *Brit.* (Lond., 1600, 4to.), p. 629.)

² "Saxon Inscriptions in Aldborough Church", vol. vi, *Archæologia*.

³ Evidence of the costliness of such a luxury as ivory at this period, and consequently of the importance of the gift, is afforded in the wide, even universal use, as a substitute for it, of the fine-grained tusk of the walrus, of which such objects as draughtsmen, or tablemen, and chessmen, were made in the Middle Ages, the comparative lack of communication with the East rendering it difficult to obtain the more precious substance. "Huel-bone", or whale-bone, is employed by the early English poets as a simile for whiteness. In the first form it occurs in Weber's *Metrical Romances* (vol. iii, note, p. 350), and is spoken of as "whale's bone" by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v, 2.

The horn had long been invested with important symbolic meaning by the ancients. The horn filled with flowers is associated in classical art with the deities which exercised power over the natural world; and the simple *drenc-horn* of the early Christians in Saxon England

wine upon his knees before the altar. The olifant,¹ when thus presented, was garnished with verrols of gold, and had a gold chain for suspension. It was, however, stripped of these embellishments by a goldsmith to whom it was sold in the reign of Edward VI; and it afterwards came into the possession of the Fairfax family, by whom, in the person of Henry Lord Fairfax, it was returned to the Cathedral. To this effect runs the inscription upon the restored silver-gilt verules.² Upon the upper verule the words are :—

*"Cornu hoc³ Ulphus in occidentali parte
Deiræ princeps una cum omnibus terris
Et redditibus suis olim donavit
Amissum vel abreptum."*

And upon the lower, in lapidary style,—

*"Henricus dom. Fairfax demum restituit
Dec. et capit. de novo ornavit.
A.D. M.DC.LXXV."*

The convex measurement of the horn is 2 ft. 5 in., and

signified, in its upturned position, the duration of a festival, whilst in its *reversed* position it signified its expiration. See *Archæologia*, vol. i, a Runic almanack facing p. 168.

¹ When the fashion arose of working delicately in ivory, the elephant's tusk took the name of "olifant", an appellation destined to become famous in the old romances of chivalry, in which the olifant played a very important part.

² The rim of both the bugle-horn and of the olifant was always enriched with either silver or gold, and to the *embouchure*, as used for blowing purposes, was affixed a valve which converted it into a drinking utensil. When the chieftains assembled to carouse on mead or ale, each was obliged to quaff its contents off at a draught, and opening the valve, to blow in it after, that the company might be satisfied that there was no flinching. See quotation from the British poets in note 3 to the *Gododin*, by Wm. Probert, p. 64; see also *Cæsar*, B. vi, ("Bell. Gall."), the custom of the Gauls.

³ The memory of Ulphus' gift is perpetuated over the arches of the nave and choir, where the horn was cut upon the stone when the nave and choir were rebuilt about five hundred years ago; and the ecclesiastical authorities still hold valuable estates, a few miles east of York, by virtue of this unsophisticated mode of conveyance, the validity of which is still recognised in a court of law when land is in dispute which has been transferred in accordance with such an ancient custom; e.g., the "Pusey Horn" (see *Archæologia*, vol. iii, p. 13). "Ancient laws were not commands issued by superiors, but merely custom sanctioned by usage, voluntarily observed with that strong devotion to usage which always characterises uncivilised nations." (Dr. Cherry's *Growth of Criminal Law*, 1890.)

its concave 1 ft. 11 in., whilst the circumference of the verule at the "bell", or embrasure, is 15 in. These measurements correspond closely with those of the Danish horn of gold delineated in Wormius' *Danicorum Monumentarum*.¹

In speaking of this very interesting horn there is one feature previously alluded to, namely the carving, which, however, deserves a consideration for which a mere allusion cannot suffice. The design of this carving exhibits a style markedly similar to that in which the animals are portrayed in procession round the body or upon the surface of Greek pottery of the archaic period, or upon the inner surface of the metal bowls from Nimroud;² and upon the boss of a shield found at Amathus, in Cyprus,³ may be seen, amongst many other instances, this striking resemblance in respect also to the Oriental style of outline which characterises the griffins. These griffins or lions, with the wings of an eagle, have the head presumably of a wolf, and their tails also terminate in a smaller head resembling that of a wolf; so that they seem to be intended for a kind of *armes parlantes*, or "speaking arms", of the owner, in allusion to his name Ulf, Ulphus, or Wolf.⁴

¹ See also Worsaae's *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*, p. 63.

² Egyptian sarcophagi, the Trajan and Antonine columns, the Bayeux Tapestry, with many other instances, might be cited in respect to the approximate universality of this design which is as marked as that of the traditions of the Noachian Deluge; and perhaps in the preservation of animal life in the interests of man, at the Deluge, may be sought the origin of the reverence paid to animals by the ancient Egyptians, as seen in the symbolism of animals in their cycle of the gods. At all events this supposition would not negatively affect the view held by Lenormant, who is of the opinion that the symbolism of animals arose through the priests having recourse to animals to symbolise the attributes, the qualities, and the nature of the various deities of their Pantheon; the inhabitants of the Nile preferring to pay their worship to living representatives of their gods rather than to lifeless images, etc. (See *Manual of Ancient Hist. in the East*, p. 325, and Prof. Rawlinson's *Hist. of Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 418.) The procession into the ark must have suggested the wide-spread use of such a style of ornament as depicted on ancient monuments; and there are abundant reasons, as Mr. Lysons shows in *Our British Ancestors*, for supposing that the commemoration of the Deluge entered largely into the mysteries of early worship.

³ L. Palma di Cesnola's *Cyprus*.

⁴ The names of "Wolf" and "Bear" were so commonly used as per-

Upon one of the archaic friezes from Xanthus is figured a lion devouring a stag, in the same manner that a lion is depicted upon the horn in the act of devouring what appears to be a fawn; a not uncommon design also upon Samian ware, and upon Roman tessellated pavements. The resemblance indicated is not surprising when one considers how greatly Scandinavian art and archæology are indebted to the East, since an active communication between Scandinavia and Asia was generally maintained by way of Northern Russia (then called Bearmland and Garderica) up to the conclusion of the eleventh century;¹ and this intercommunication doubtless assisted in diffusing the artistic knowledge, common to all Europe, of the winged lions, *sphinges*, and other *chimerae* which decorate ancient monuments. Something approaching the palm-tree itself in design is present upon the horn, as if to unite with these mythic animals in proclaiming the antiquity of the Eastern style of art thereon displayed; for one is, I submit, tempted to recognise in this tree bearing leaves a modification, however threadbare, of that most ancient cult in Oriental religious worship, the Tree of Life,—a design manifest in both Egyptian and Assyrian art.²

The laminated or scaled ornamentation, representing the manes of the animals, is also characteristic not only of Egyptian and Assyrian, but also of Greek and Roman art, having been suggested, doubtless, by the protection from hurt which nature has provided in the “greater coverts” of the wings and tails of birds; as seen, for instance, in the plumage of the vulture (the phonetic equivalent, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, of the goddess *Mut*), the remains of which bird surmount the sacred boat of

sonal appellations by the Danes and Saxons that we are unable to pronounce with certainty as to the significance of names like Wolferlow in Herefordshire, or Barnwood in Gloucestershire. Wolversley, a small island at Winchester, was, however, the place where the Welsh tribute of wolves’ heads was annually made. (Isaac Taylor’s *Words and Places*.)

¹ See Worsaae’s *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*.

² Professor Rawlinson sees in the emblem which combines the horns of the ram (an animal noted for its procreative power) with the image of a fruit or flower-producing tree, ground for supposing that some allusion is intended to the prolific or generative energy in nature. (See *The Second Monarchy of the Ancient Eastern World*, pp. 6-9.)

Mutemua, wife of Thothmes IV, sculptured in black granite in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum, where the feathers are conventionally so wrought; or the same type is afforded in the *squamæ* of the fish or serpent, which probably in like manner suggested the scaly armour made of pieces of horn described by Pausanias.¹

With these few remarks I have hoped to show that we have, in the Horn of Ulphus, a tangible instance of the influence of Eastern art having been felt at this period as far west as Britain, and that its benefits are reflected, however humbly, in the design wrought upon this drinking-horn of Ulphus. The horn was not improbably an heirloom; but in any circumstances Ulphus valued it so highly as to relinquish it only that he might, by such a votive act, impart greater solemnity to an occasion thus rendered memorable to posterity as well as in the history of York Cathedral.

Time is too short to admit of more than the barest mention of the considerable number of these horns which are still scattered over the country. Amongst the more noteworthy are the "Nigel Horn", which Mr. C. A. Aubrey of Dorton Thame, Oxon., has been good enough to inform me is still in his possession;² and in a similarly kind communication Mr. Bouverie Pusey, of Pusey, vouches for the existence of the celebrated "Pusey Horn".³

¹ Lib. i, cxxii. Whilst Pausanias may be said to be correct in citing the scales of the dragon, which were imbricated (*i.e.*, they grew downward), as resembling this horn-scaled armour, he is not so successful in seeking a similar resemblance in "the pine-nut while yet green", whence was more probably derived the lozenge-shaped diaper ornament, and whose scale-like pistils grew upward, suggesting rather the ornament so frequently seen upon the outer surface of Durobrivian or (though not so frequently) upon that of Cypriote and Samian pottery. (See Cesnola's *Cyprus*, and Jollois' *Antiquités du Grand Cimetière d'Orléans*, planche 8.)

² Engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. iii, p. 1. See also *Parochial Antiquities*, by Kennett.

³ First mentioned in Camden's *Brit.* (Berks.), p. 203, ed. 1607. Engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. iii, p. 13. Mr. Pusey himself appears to think the story of Canute and this horn legendary; but there does not seem to be any reason to doubt its authenticity. With equal hesitation Camden's editor, Bishop Gibson, holds the inscription to be of much more recent date, which it undoubtedly is; but he assumes the horn itself to be necessarily of the same age. The inscription, however,

The "Bruce Horn"¹ was in the possession of the Marquess of Ailesbury up to the time of the transfer of the Ailesbury estates (1892); and the "Tutbury"² in that of Mr. W. H. G. Bagshawe, Ford Hall, Chapel-en-le-Frith; whilst that in the possession of the Dover Corporation³ was among the Cinque Ports exhibits at the Royal Naval Exhibition. Others of note are the "Hungerford Horn", of brass;⁴ the Wirrall and Delamere Horns;⁵ the "Warder's Horn", of the fifteenth century, in the Tower of London; the Queen's College, Oxford,⁶ and Corpus Christi, Cambridge,⁷ Horns; the "Huntingdon Horn", a Byzantine horn of the eleventh century, now in the South Kensington Museum; the "Kavanagh Charter Horn", in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin; and others, the identity of which is unknown; not, however, omitting those in the possession of the Chapter of Ripon Cathedral, and which will probably be viewed in the course of our visit there.

Since inditing the foregoing, I find myself, happily, in a position to exhibit a most skilfully executed series of water-colour illustrations of the horns I have mentioned. This is owing to the kindness of our Vice-President, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, who executed and exhibited them in illustration of his exhaustive remarks upon the Phonic Horn, published in vol. v of the *Journal*.

The majority of the horns are, with their associations, described in Blount's *Tenures of Lands and Customs of Manors* (Hazlitt, 1874), whence it may be gathered that the horn was by no means the only instrument used

may well have been renewed on account of the horn, like that of Ulphus, having been denuded of its original embellishments, whereas the horn itself would hardly have been worth stealing, or of use to any one but its owner.

¹ Engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. iii, p. 24.

² First mentioned in Blount's *Tenures*. Engraved in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 175. A paper by Dr. Cox, which the owner of the horn characterises as "excellent", is published in the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological Society* (1886), p. 7.

³ See *Journ. B. A. Ass.*, vols. ii and xxvii, and *The Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 252. It is believed to be of the twelfth century.

⁴ Given to the town by John of Gaunt. See Lysons' *Berkshire*.

⁵ For the Wirrall Horn, see Ormerod's *Hist. of Cheshire*; described p. 189, illustrated p. 196. The Delamere Horn, *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶ Said to be the finest in existence. Engraved in *Barnabæ Itinerarum*, and in Meyrick's *Ancient Furniture*, plate lxiii.

⁷ *Archæologia*, vol. iii, p. 19.

anciently in this unchartered method of conveyance, though it does not seem to have been a custom to thus convey estates later than the Norman period. Almost any personal requisite was used for the purpose, namely a cup, a dirk, a sword, a helmet, a spur, a horse-comb, a bow and arrow, a silver cross, a chalice, a branch of a tree, a clod of earth or "glebe" (hence *glebe*-land), a knife, and a gold ring. Those who are familiar with the *Ingoldsby Legends* will recall how, in "The Spectre of Tappington", Hugh de Bolsover, as a reward for services in the Holy Land, was enfeoffed in certain lands, to which he gave his name, and which were held in grand serjeantry by the presentation of three white owls and a pot of honey; whence his name, "Bee-owls-over",—a bee in chief over three owls, all proper, being his armorial ensigns. By the tenure of a knife, which it appears was a common appendant to deeds of the kind after the Conquest, but not before,¹ the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris (like that of York Minster by a horn) holds or did hold the *parvis*, or square, in front of the Cathedral; a gift, as the inscription runs, of "Faucher de Beuil, by which Guy hath given to the Church of St. Mary the areas or open space before the said Church, which belonged to Drogo the Archdeacon, for an anniversary service for his mother."²

¹ *Archæol.*, vol. xvii, p. 314.

² The handle of the knife bore the inscription, in Latin, as follows: "Hic cultellus fuit Fulcheri de Buolo, per quem inde dedit areas Drogonis archidiaconi ecclesiæ sancte Mariæ ante eandem ecclesiam sitas pro anniversario matris suæ."





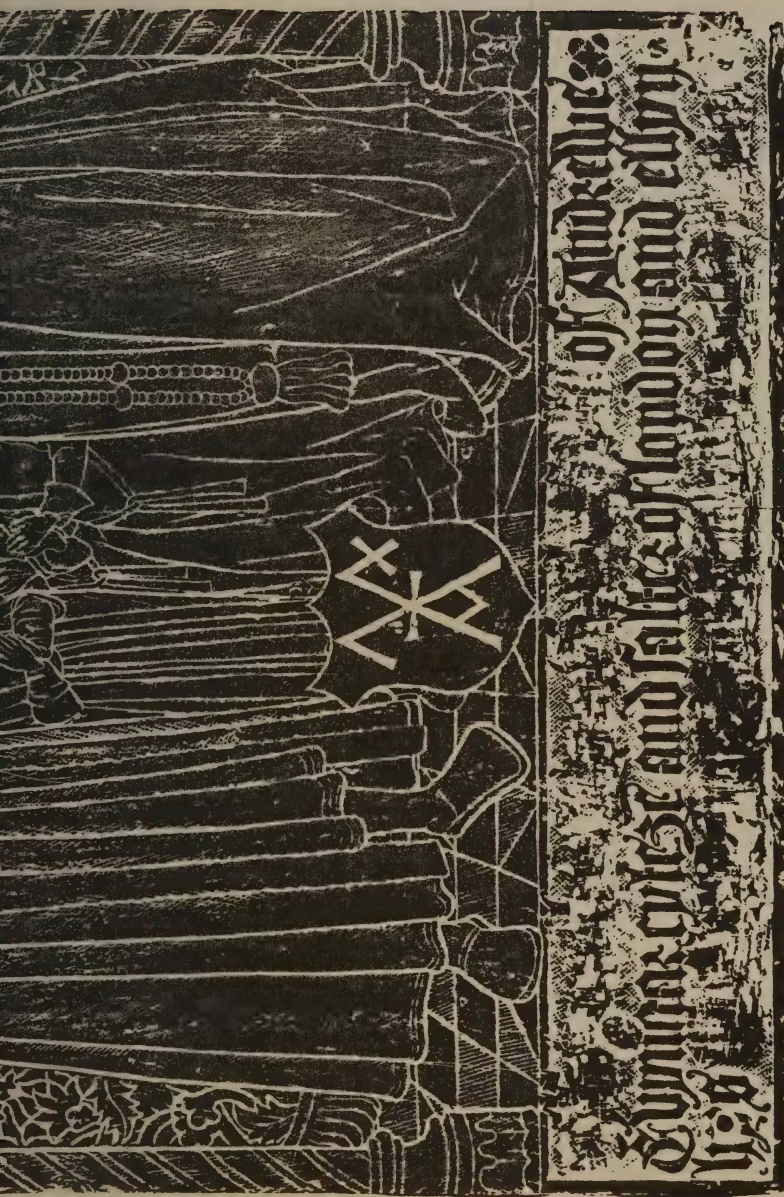


PHOTO-LITHO SPRAGUE & CO LONDON

ANDREW EYNGAR 1535:- ALL HALLOWS, BARKING.

Size — 1ft. 11½ ins. x 2ft 9½

From a Rubbing by ANDREW OLIVER, ARIBA.

NOTES ON THE BRASS OF ANDREW EVYNGAR.

BY A. OLIVER, ESQ.

THE accompanying Plate is from a rubbing of the brass of Andrew Evyngar, A.D. 1535, in All Hallows, Barking. It is inlaid in a slab, round which is an incised marginal inscription. The left side of the slab has been destroyed, together with the sentence. Traces may be seen of the evangelistic symbols.

The brass consists of the figures of Evyngar, his wife, son, and daughters, standing under a canopy of pointed arches which spring from side-shafts. In the centre, on a throne or a chair, is placed a *pieta* supported underneath by a corbel. The background is richly diapered. The figures of the personages commemorated stand on a tessellated pavement, and are turned the one towards the other. Scrolls bearing sentences issue from the mouths of Evyngar and his wife, invoking each of the divine personages placed above them. That from the man bears the words "O filii dei miserere mei"; that from the lady, "O mater dei memento mei". The figure of Evyngar is dressed in a long, loose gown with deep, full sleeves, under which is worn an under-garment; the feet are in broad-toed shoes. The wife's figure is draped in a long mantle with long gauntlet-cuffs at the wrists. Round the waist is a broad, ornamented belt with a large round buckle, from which hangs a rosary which terminates in a tassel; a large, plain hood is worn over the head. The son's dress is similar to that worn by his father, excepting the sleeves, which in this case fit close. The five daughters are placed at the side of the mother, in three rows. The two in the front row wear a dress similar to the lady's, except that the belt and rosary are omitted, their place being taken by a crossed girdle. Of the other figures, only the head-dress, which is similar to that worn by the others, is shown.

The arms of the Merchant Adventurers' Company and of the Salters' Company are placed on either side, at the top of the brass. The Merchants' mark is borne on a shield placed between the feet of the principal figure. At the bottom of the brass all that remains of the inscription is

....."OF ANDREW EVYNGAR CYTEZE' AND SALTER OF LONDON
AND ELLYN HYS"

EXISTING ANALOGUES OF STONEHENGE AND AVEBURY,

FOUND IN THE
"TALAYOTS" AND "TAULAS" OF MINORCA.

BY DR. PHENÉ, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., CORRESPONDING MEMBER
OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF NEW YORK, ETC.

RESEARCHES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

(*Read at Devizes, August 1880.*)

AMONG the various matters connected with the strange and impressive monuments in the British Islands, to which the learned have given attention, is that of discovering some precedent or authority for the structures, or at least an example of their design or construction; and it must be admitted that these endeavours have so far been unsuccessful. But there seems a generally received opinion that there is at least evidence in classical writers that temples prior to that of Solomon, and of course, therefore, among many nations long after, were mere enclosures open alike to the heaven above, and the winds around. It must be admitted, however, that no structure like Stonehenge has been described.

There are three points for consideration in connection with Stonehenge:—1st. It is a structure of at least two periods widely separated. The materials and dimensions of the earlier structure differ altogether from those of the later and grander erection. 2nd. It is not mentioned by writers of antiquity, unless one passage, very doubtful as to locality, be admitted. 3rd. It must have been fully known to the Romans, as Roman pottery and other remains attest; yet it is not mentioned by them. To these points a fourth may be added, viz., that it occupies a very central position amongst the great sepulchral memorials of the ancient British people, and the site was possibly a sacred locality of a still earlier race.

On the first of these points my opinion is exactly opposed to that of Mr. Cunnington, who considered that "the grand erection was first made, and the smaller circle and oval of inferior stones were raised at a later period; for" (he continues) "they add nothing to the general

grandeur of the temple, but rather give a littleness to the whole; and more particularly so if you add the two small trilithons of granite."

It is more natural to suppose that as we go back into the times of primitive occupation, the smaller stones would be erected, and the larger when wealth and power were more at command. The material of the smaller stones approximated to, and is of the class generally used by, the earlier settlers. Roman roads lead to the neighbourhood, and Roman pottery and relics have been found. I will only notice on this point that the silence of Latin writers is remarkable. It may be observed here that the handling and working of the larger stones appear unlike that of any monument of *Keltic* erection in Brittany or Britain.

I have been led to form some conclusions on Stonehenge and Avebury by results of an expedition lately prosecuted by me in the Mediterranean, where, in the Balearic and Italian islands (chiefly in Minorca and Sardinia), I have found monuments which appear to me, though hitherto quite undescribed, to throw much light on these structures; if not, indeed, to present analogues of construction, with additions which, I believe, are as without example as the great Wiltshire monuments themselves. These consist of enceintes surrounded by vast Cyclopean walls, within which are lofty conical erections capable of supporting a vast concourse of persons externally, and many of which are clearly connected with a part in each of such enceintes devoted to solemn rites. These reserved parts are, when the wall has not been destroyed, always surrounded by an irregular inner enclosure. Within these latter are the remains of circles of monoliths, in the centre of which, as a rule, is a lofty table or altar, known as the "*Taula*", composed of a large block resting horizontally on an oblong placed vertically, and forming the letter *T* (the *tau*). In some cases a third stone is erected, and this has a rude capstone. It cannot be called a capital. These are rare in the present condition of these remains. They appear apparently symbolic. In short, this and the *tau* represent the two chief symbols of Phœnician worship.


The stone tables are very remarkable,—a vast and

heavy capstone, frequently 12 ft. long by 3 ft. wide, and 2 ft. thick, carefully fashioned, and always in the same form, is poised on a vertical oblong about 9 ft. wide, and only 1 ft. thick, standing out of the ground 9 ft., presenting a square superficies of a thin slab to the sight. There is no cement nor any mortise, and yet I ascended, in all parts of Minorca, with other persons, on to the capstone without causing the least oscillation. In one case, however, at Torrella Fu La, at what was evidently the grand temple, the horizontal stone of the chief table has a mortise, into which the upright is inserted as a tenon; and this is so adroitly done, although evidently not wrought with iron tools, but merely battered with stone implements, that a slight touch of the hand causes vibration, though the stone is perfectly safe, and the natives assert that it vibrates constantly in a high wind.

Here we have an approach to the mortise and tenon system of Stonehenge, the only example I am aware of. In several cases, at remote distances, in Minorca are found the upright columns with rude caps, arranged in the form of the trilithons of Stonehenge, though with the capstones and a rude transverse block or lintel above, forming a construction of five stones in lieu of three. Locally these are called dolmens, and in several instances there are pure trilithons, or one block resting on two uprights.

The great enceintes generally contain three vast conical erections called "Talayots", apparently intended for different purposes. Some are solid, with an external ascent, clearly watch-towers, or serving also, it may be, as places whence the ceremonies in the sacred enclosure might be observed. Some are hollow, with doorways high up above the ground, indicating places of refuge or depositories for valued articles. There are others, again, the purposes of which are less apparent.

The grand temple, surrounded on all sides, and at distances of some miles, by these lofty cones, is in the form of a pyramid, with the angles rounded off; an immensely strong structure, and not dissimilar, in the size of its enormous blocks and the thickness of its walls, to the well-known Cyclopean works at Tiryns in Greece. Many of the stones are 9 ft. long by 3 ft. to 5 ft. thick.



Within the walls is a semicircular chamber with its base to the south, arranged in tiers of stones, in form of a Greek theatre. Æschylus, who wrote before Greek theatres were built of stone,¹ refers in *Agamemnon*, l. 503, to the gods seated on thrones facing the sun; and as these remains are older than any Greek erection, we may have here a reference to this structure, or to some of which this was an example: the models, perhaps, from which the Greek theatres were designed. The building is about 80 ft. square at the base, has been about 60 ft. high, and the entrance to the hall is about 20 ft. from the ground; to which height the building appears to be solid, the floor being at that level. Whatever purpose Silbury Hill served, any one of these conical structures would fulfil.

East of this pyramidal structure are the remains of an early city, not unlike the walls of Tre'r Caeri, on Yr Eifl Mountains, near Snowdon. The defending wall to this pyramid, guarding also the sacred enclosure and the city, is 14 ft. thick and 10 ft. high in its present ruinous condition; has a number of deep recesses like the Pelasgic portals at Norba in Italy, and one like the remarkable one at Phigalia in Greece, and is formed of stones, some of which measure 15 ft. in length, and resembles, in the greatness of its dimensions, the vast Cyclopean wall at Samothrace, illustrated by me in *The Builder*,² from a drawing made by me in that island.

In tumuli near this old city evidences of cremation have been found, apparently showing that the conical erections were not sepulchral, but that cremation went on around them.

There are other widely different, but equally remarkable structures, but I confine myself, in this paper, to the above. In the Island of Minorca alone, although covering a district of thirty miles, and with a range of mountains between, even the extremely remote, and all the intervening remains of this kind, could have almost instantaneous communication with each other, as tested by me; and I believe a careful survey of the district between Stonehenge and Avebury would show that either by

¹ See Pausanias, Suidas, and others.

² See *The Builder* of August 1877.

ancient barrows or natural heights communications could be made between these places. Excavations near these structures have, as at Stonehenge and Carnac, in Brittany, produced Roman remains, though it need hardly be said the structures are not Roman. It is, however, clear they were known to the Romans.

One very curious point arises here. In the Island of Minorca, near to the great port, Mahon (so named from a Carthaginian general, Mago), the stone tables are of larger dimensions, more careful workmanship, and apparently, unlike the others, wrought with metal tools, although the conical structures near them are not so important. All the appearances are those of later and more careful construction, and it is near these that the largest quantity of Roman remains have been found. With the politic and conciliatory custom of the Romans in adopting the worship of the respective localities they governed, these later stone tables appear to be identical, as restorations of previously existing, and possibly of then decaying, monuments; in short, on a more magnificent scale, of altars, or deities, or both, as the case may be. In such case they assume the precise condition of the more vast portion of Stonehenge. The smaller circle and the two small trilithons clearly show the nature of the earlier structure, and the Roman occupation of the locality shows the interest the Romans felt in it.

The principle of *wrought* stone monuments is not British, still less so the mortise and tenon, or it would be found in some of the earlier or later cromlechs, though the latter was evidently known to the constructors of the ancient monuments in the Mediterranean islands just described; and it is highly probable that rude stone structures, long since removed in Spain, Africa, and Gaul, may have suggested this method to the Romans; and it is possible that an ancient race coming to Britain in remote times, may have left rude examples of such constructions in some of the smaller trilithons long since perished. My impression is, that as the Romans consolidated their power by alliance with, and granting freedom to, the nobles of the countries they governed; as they considered the worship of the local deities of other lands meritorious, and no abrogation of nor detracton from

the honours claimed for their own deities of Rome, they could show this in no more comprehensive way than by restoration or augmentation of that temple in Britain which was in the centre of the deceased nobility of the land, and in the vicinity of what was clearly the great wardmote or gathering-place of the British at Avebury. On the other hand there is evidence enough to show, both in the mortise and tenon construction, and in the vastness of the stones (although those of Stonehenge are smaller than the great monoliths in Brittany), that the artificers, or at least designers, of even the later parts may have been of Phœnician origin, or at least of their date, the monuments of the Baleares being Pelasgic of the oldest type. The Pelasgi, although apparently in occupation over the known world long prior to the coming of the Phœnicians, were a people with whom the Phœnicians were in communication, and all the features of Stonehenge and Avebury have analogues in the islands between the African continent and Europe. In any case, that Stonehenge is not a purely British structure is clear. Dr. James Fergusson, who is not fond of attributing great antiquity to any monuments, allows that the remains on the Balearic Islands may be coeval with the period of the Trojan War.

Having repeatedly examined the route of the ancient traffic in tin through Gaul, I feel clear in stating that trilithons seem to follow a line from Africa (where several exist), through Gaul, and then by the Atlantic shore and islands to Britain; a trilithon being found on the coast in Brittany, at St. Nazaire, and one in the Ile D'Ousès-sant. They are rare in any case; but examples are to be found on the old route of tin traffic, or near it. A fine trilithon is figured in one of Cambry's plates, in the Department de l'Isère, on the Rhone.

Dr. Fergusson admits the art of the construction (*i.e.*, the design) may have travelled from Africa to Ireland, and thence to Wiltshire; in which, as to the smaller and original structure, I think he is right. I assume that he means that persons having practice in construction of this kind brought such knowledge with them.

The only authors who have written on these remains, except on some isolated examples, are the Count de la

Marmora and Don Juan Ramis. The former states that ill health prevented his examining these monuments, except in a few instances, of which he gives examples. The latter does not even appear to me to have made personal inspections. To these facts I attribute the very incorrect drawings and deficiency in statements respecting them. The only two Englishmen in Majorca (there are no resident English in Minorca) were the British Consul, son of Dr. Mure, the well-known writer on Greek classical history, and Mr. Waring, an engineer, nephew of Mr. Waring the antiquary. The latter, in making excavations, had found some curious Roman remains; but neither gentleman had investigated the ancient remains. I received great kindness from both, and much assistance from Mr. Mure, and in Minorca from several of the wealthy residents, who took an interest in my researches.

With the British Consul at Palma (Mr. Mure) I made a careful inspection of the several islands, even including the small and seldom visited island, Dragonera, as my survey was made in a technical and systematic manner; but as Minorca required a long survey, from the abundance of its remains, it exceeded his power of absence from consular duties.

At Ciudadella, the capital of Minorca, I was politely received, in the *Cása de Ayuntamiento*, by the *Alcáld*e, Don Gaspar J. Saura, who with great politeness procured me a Minorcan acquainted with the country districts, there being no guides, and the inhabitants of one end of the island seeming to know nothing of the other end, nor of anything in the island, except in their own local districts. I received much attention from some of the leading families: Don Francisco Segui, Don Juan Pons Y Soler, and from Mr. Vanreel of Port Mahon, with whom and his agreeable son, some of my examinations were made, and Don Nicholas Salas of Ciudadella.

Many of the remarkable objects I visited were undescribed in any books, Spanish or English.

Classical history gives us little information either on Cyclopean structures generally, or on those in these islands in particular, nor does it inform us much concerning the inhabitants of the Balears. On the term "Cyclopean", the celebrated German writer, Kruse, informs us

that the word had reference to the circular buildings of the Pelasgi, which terminated in points where there were circular apertures; and hence their name originated from the circular form of their buildings (κύκλος) and the round opening at the top (ὄψ), an eye, which it resembled. Several authors (Cæsar, Virgil, Ovid, Diodorus, and others) speak of the inhabitants as skilful slingers, and hence they are called "Balears" (from βάλλω, to throw), and the word βάλλειν is applied to them. Bochart, however, makes it Punic, but uses the word Baal, not as god or lord, but master: thus, Baal-Jare, a master at throwing. The Greeks called these islands Gymnesiæ, because the inhabitants went naked in summer. This is still so on a large estate managed by Mr. Waring, an English engineer. I was assured that there, in another month, the workmen would be entirely without clothing.

Of the extraordinary remains in Minorca we have absolutely no historic information. The masonry indicates that they are Cyclopean of the oldest type; while that of the Nuraghe of Sardinia, with which many suppose they agree, is often in courses of wrought or well trimmed stone. The grand feature of the Nuraghe is also wanting in the Balears, viz., the spiral staircase or ramp, which is found also in the "brocks" of Scotland. The plan of the grandest structure in Minorca approaches a square at the base, and forms a pyramid, of which there is no example in Sardinia. In this building the angles are rounded, as before described.

There is historic reference to the Nuraghe of Sardinia, and even their builder, Iolaus, is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus; but the antiquity of the remains in Minorca is lost in the mist of ages, or referred to the time of the very oldest of the mythological deities, Saturn.

I find a quotation from Homer, and also from Pindar, which I have not had time to verify, that there was a place in the Balearides supposed to have been the palace of Saturn. I can imagine no place more suitable for this description than what I have called the grand temple.

The works of Iolaus in Sardinia are described in a way to prevent mistake, and they are found to-day as then described, with the domes, or θόλοι, beautifully designed. There are some portions of these Nuraghe which appear

to be of an earlier period ; and these may have been of the date of the towers in Minorca, as they are very rude, and from these Iolaus probably designed, and improved, and produced the present Nuraghe, adding the staircase.

The chambers, which were large in the older structures, are much smaller in the later Nuraghe. The first appear to have been used to protect wheat when it was a very precious article of commerce, and when pirates (who existed from time immemorial in the Mediterranean) sought their booty in that article ; and the smaller chambers in the Nuraghe were clearly, as found by the Count de la Marmora, used for depositing ornaments of the precious metals and other smaller valuables, thus acting as treasuries.

The number of Nuraghe in Sardinia is said to be unaccountable ; but the historian goes on to say Iolaus divided the land by lot, and no doubt each lord had his special tower, as seems to have been the earlier custom in the Balearic Islands. He reports also that in time of danger the inhabitants of Sardinia sought refuge, not in the towers, but in caves. This appears also to have been a custom before the Nuraghe were built, and may have been connected with the older structures in Sardinia, as every old tower in Minorca still has a cave close to it.

The remains in Minorca, again, differ altogether from the Nuraghe of Sardinia by having, as a part of them, the stone tables (said to be for sacrifice) and the circles of monoliths already described, neither of which are found in Sardinia. If they existed previously, they were probably removed on the coming of Iolaus, and the new comers introduced their own religion. All the monoliths in Sardinia are pointed, and could not have supported such stone tables.

Another special class of monuments in Minorca differs altogether from anything in Sardinia. These are vast ships built of stone, of an immense age, as proved by their masonry.

Though not an archæological subject, I cannot omit, while making a digression from the Talayots, the name given to the conical structures in Minorca, giving some notice of the beautiful effects of the Cueva de la Hermita in the larger island.

The entrance to this cave is at a considerable elevation

on the coast, which being attained, the descent is easy. The dimensions are unusual, and the inspection occupies some hours. At intervals Bengal lights are burned, when a view opens which puts even the elegant tracery of Gothic and Moorish architecture aside. Long lines of light, straight, and uniform columns seem to multiply the effects of Westminster Abbey; while there is hardly a form, from magnificent organs to pulpits, side-chapels, and even mural monuments, that the eye does not figure to itself as realities.

In my former papers, read before different Societies, I have endeavoured, in some slight degree, to represent on diagrams the extraordinary effects of the carbonate of lime deposits; but here power seems to fail, from the vastness and beauty of the effects, and the transitory period of lighting up at different stages of the way. The variety and detail of what I can hardly help calling the architectural devices is beyond description; and the most extraordinary feature is, that all seems in proportion, and columns as lofty as those of Westminster Abbey are of uniform thickness in the shafts, and swell out in foliation at their extreme height, while there is also a great uniformity in their distances. The progress of the stalactitic formation has evidently been arrested for centuries here, though still going on slightly in the caves of Minorca.¹

The word "talayots" (from the Spanish *atalaya*, watch-tower) is admitted by the well-informed on the island to be a modern term applied to these structures by the Minorcans, but to have no significance, though it seems not far from the purpose. My investigations led me to believe that these places were dépôts of valuable articles of commerce in which the Phœnicians traded; that, in short, they became the great dépôts of Carthage, though probably established long before the settlement of that city.

The *culte* of Astarte, under the form of the crescent, is more beautifully illustrated in Minorca than in, probably, any other place, by the delicate curves of the stone ships (a ship being also her emblem as well as that of Isis),

¹ See my papers on the Geology of the Balearic Islands, and on the Antiquities of Minorca, in the *Transactions* of the British Association for 1880.

while the numerous *taus* (still called "Taulas") multiply the three-membered cross (T) of Tyre.

One more reference to the points connecting these structures with those of Britain. Trilithons seem to have come direct from Africa, as stated, and examples are still found in this district, as at Marlborough. They seem to me less the construction of Phœnicians than of a people conveyed to Britain by them; or, as seems still more probable, that they belong to preoccupying Pelasgic constructors.

In addition to the examples I have quoted of trilithons on the old tin-traffic route, one of the very remarkable stones already described as having a rude capstone is figured by Cambry, in the locality of the trilithon I have referred to, as given by him in the Department of Isère. It exactly resembles those of Minorca.

On the question of the two periods of erection for the structure at Stonehenge, I do not assume this alone *because* the materials and dimensions differ. I give simply as a fact that they do; but *because* the handling or workmanship belongs to two ages widely separated. The smaller stones are certainly not local, and are generally considered to have been brought to Britain. Upon this I offer no opinion; but, for the following reasons, I believe their erectors, if Phœnician, would have considered them desecrated by the larger ones. They belong to that remote age when no tool of metal was to be used on a sacred monument; the larger, to a rude age, but one laboriously striving after art, however primitive; an age such as would be when the ancient Britons, just beginning to be educated by the Romans, would have given their ready hands and sturdy thews pliantly to the mental suggestion of those teachers; and that they were wrought by metallic tools is evident.

Now this is just what I have illustrated of the remains in the Baleares. There is a distinct difference of date in the monuments there. The older and more curious have been clearly stone-hammered; the latter, which I look on as Roman restorations, have a precision which indicates the iron chisel. Near the latter, in particular, as already mentioned, many Roman remains have been found, as well as at Stonehenge.

The Phœnicians, as I have shown in the *British Archaeological Journal*, were less a nation than a race of leaders like the Normans. They took into their service (often by force) people of any nation ; but always, when they could, of the higher and intellectual ones. The minor Jewish prophets bitterly complain of their kidnapping the Jewish youth, and selling them to the early Greeks or Pelasgi and others. But they were a purely maritime people. They had their settlements on islands and coasts, not inland ; still less so where no metallic source existed. Therefore I think it most improbable that the larger construction is Phœnician or Pelasgic, but wrought and erected by sheer force by native Britons under supervision of scientific Roman instructors: not purely a Roman erection, and so not needing to be chronicled by Roman writers.

The Roman works near Stonehenge, not alone camps for war, but for great solemnities, being grander than any others of the kind in Britain, indicate that here the Romans and Britons met on great occasions, while there are no Cyclopean or Pelasgic works nearer than Devonshire and Cornwall. Other evidence, with which I cannot trouble you, leads still more conclusively in the same direction.

But one example of such further evidence appears to me very conclusive. The capstones at Stonehenge are of a peculiar form. They are slightly wedge-shaped, *i.e.*, wider at the upper or sky-side,—a form precisely agreeing with all the horizontal stones supported on other stones, whether such supports are monoliths or otherwise, in Minorca ; and it appears to me that as every form and outline of the older structures has been preserved in what I consider the Roman restorations in Minorca, this feature at Stonehenge is only a retention of form of older capstones, whether of trilithons or other structures.

The almost square base of the grand temple in Minorca approaches, notwithstanding its rounded corners, to the rectilinear, if not rectangular, style of Cyclopean work in Samothrace, one of the oldest examples, and probably of the time of the Cabiri in that island. There is so much resemblance in the accounts of the Cabiri and the Cyclopes that the mere distance in their occupation (the one,

of the eastern, the other of the western islands in the Mediterranean) is sufficient to account for the difference of identification.

Having the valuable works of La Marmora with me as guide-books, and being aided by a work just then published by a Balearic gentleman, on the Nuraghe of Sardinia, I determined to follow up the subject by an examination of those buildings, and found my conclusions supported.

In Majorca is an example, not of a Talayot, but of the lower part of a Nuragh, *i.e.*, hollow from the ground upwards,—in fact, a round tower; while in Sardinia I found some of the Nuraghe nearly solid at the base, like the Talayots.

The fields and properties in Minorca, and even in Majorca, near the Nuraghe just mentioned, are fenced with walls of great thickness, and give the impression that they have been formed from material procured by demolition of ancient constructions. On this ground, and in face of some of the Nuraghe having a nearly solid basement, it is not improbable that the Talayots formed the bases of towers of the Nuraghe class, to which what I have styled the great temple approximates, having a solid base and a hollow superstructure. The fact also that there have evidently been two periods of construction of the Nuraghe, the first of rude stones, the last of squared stones, supports this idea of the ancient work of Minorca.

La Marmora gives a few typical examples only. It would be impossible to give the whole, those given being the most interesting; but there are others in which the bases approximate to the solid Talayots of Minorca, added to which there are features in those given by him which are exactly identical with other remains which I have traced from South Italy, through Etruria, to the North Sea.

I select as an example the Nuragh Adoni (Adonai Lord). This Nuragh, from its construction and trinity of chambers, surmounted by a single larger one, vaulted and aspiring upwards, and its commanding position on the grand mountain plateau, Sarcidano (a suitable place, indeed, as a “high place” for worship), seems to take us

back to the captive Jewish youths in the hands of the Phœnicians. It seems to reveal a story of the escape of such captives, for few Phœnician names exist in the island, and the Phœnicians seldom permanently settled unless a colony was determined on.

As to the superstructure of the Nuraghe, La Marmora, Angius, and others, conclude that they were finished with a vaulted or domed terrace. If such a terrace were covered with earth, fires could have been lighted on the summits without damaging the stone; and although La Marmora failed to find an example of the ring of "bronze or iron" asserted by the peasants to have been found on the summits of the Nuraghe, yet it is difficult to think the listless peasants were ingenious enough to invent the idea; while the value of these metals, if bronze, for art objects; if iron, for arms, would fully account for their absence. If such rings were used on the summit, a slight grill would support a fire over the earth; and the conception, already mooted by some writers, that such round fires on these raised summits originated the story of the single eye in the head of the Cyclops is not improbable.

As these monuments are so unlike any known to exist elsewhere, I have thought it right not only to exhibit drawings made on the spot, but photographs of some of them, as no description in words could illustrate the very remarkable similarity of these remains to Stonehenge.

DISCUSSION.

DR. PHENÉ then explained the many interesting views with which the various objects of his lecture were illustrated on the wall of the assembly room, and concluded with a few remarks on other relics of the past to be found in Minorca. Alluding to the previous night's lecture on "The Viking's Ship", he said the interest in it fell far short of what was found there; for in Minorca, as the photographs represented, were perfect ships, quite as large, built of stone in vast blocks, in which the masts were represented in their insertion into the keel, and the whole design was as complete as in Scandinavia. But the stone ships in Minorca are all inverted. The monuments themselves, as shown by the photographs, and compared with photographs of the earliest Cyclopean masonry of Greece and that of Samothrace, discovered by Dr. Phené, and published in *The Builder* from his drawings, are found

to be of the very earliest type. They assimilate more to the most ancient circular structures in Etruria than to any other remains.

EARL NELSON said they were much indebted to Dr. Phené for his very interesting lecture, which had been made the more interesting by the beautiful illustrations which they saw before them. The Noble Earl then invited discussion, and called on Mr. William Cunnington to say a few words.

Mr. W. CUNNINGTON said he considered Dr. Phené's paper was the most important which had been read for a long time on Stonehenge, for there seemed to be many points of analogy between what had been described by Dr. Phené and Stonehenge. It was his grandfather's opinion that the large stones at Stonehenge were the original stones, but his own opinion was the reverse. There were a great many points to which he might refer in connection with the paper they had heard, but he did not then feel able to enlarge upon them.

Mr. PICTON said he had listened with very great pleasure to Dr. Phené's paper. Dr. Phené had treated the subject in a very clear manner, and he thought his views were accurate and convincing. There was a striking analogy between the circle shown on the photograph before them and Stonehenge. He agreed with the previous speakers, that the large stones were erected after the smaller ones, and he expressed an opinion that they might have been placed there by the Britons after they had learnt mechanical skill from the Romans, and it was possible that they had the help of the Romans in mortising them.

Mr. W. CUNNINGTON pointed out that the most important point in connection with the smaller stones of Stonehenge was the fact that in no part of Great Britain was there any stone to be found of the same description. The nearest sort of stone to them was that near Edinburgh. Professor Maskelyne and others had examined them most minutely, and it was absolutely clear that there were three or four sorts of stone at Stonehenge which did not exist in England.

Dr. PHENÉ said that Dr. Fergusson got over the difficulty, for he suggested the direct course of the design at least was from Africa; and in proof of the fact that several stones had been brought from abroad in ancient times, Dr. Phené gave a description of a piece of Assyrian sculpture which he said had been dug up on the estate of Lord Mount Edgecumbe in Devonshire, pointing out that, for his own part, he saw nothing improbable in the Phœnicians, or those associated with them, bringing their gods to lands where they effected settlements, and that the worship of such stones by many nations, in early times, was undisputed.

EARL NELSON then wound up the discussion, and expressed a hope that it would be resumed on the spot the following day.

BROUGHTON CASTLE.

BY E. G. BRUTON, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.

(Read at the Oxford Congress, 9 July 1890.)

AT first sight the house appears to be a fine Elizabethan mansion, the whole of the west front and the greater part of the south being of that style, while the east, which is not so conspicuous, is almost wholly of the fourteenth century.

The family of Broughton were settled here, and had a grant of free warren, in the time of Edward I; and as the style of the building perfectly agrees with this date, to them must be attributed the erection of the original building. It does not appear how long the Broughtons held it, but it seems in the thirteenth of Edward II to have been confirmed to Robert de Holland, and in the seventh of Edward IV (1467) a licence to crenellate or fortify the mansion of his manor of Broughton was granted to Thomas Wickham. To this period may, therefore, be referred the outer works, the offices adjoining the gatehouse, the upper story of the gateways, etc. The estate passed soon after, by marriage, into the family of Fiennes, who were settled here in 1451, and who in the second year of Mary (1554) altered or rebuilt a great portion of the house, and in the possession of the representative, the Lord Saye and Sele, it still remains.

By a careful examination the original plan of the building may be made out with tolerable accuracy, and I exhibit a plan where that is shown by the walls in black. It will be seen that the principal additions have been the west front, the projecting bays on the north front, and the staircases at the back. The eastern portion, above the ground-floor, remains almost in its original state.

It is evident, from the buttresses remaining on the north side, and portions of window-labels and door-jambs on the south, that the hall still retains its original plan and proportions, the alterations being the additions of two large bay-windows on the north side (in one of

which also is the principal entrance), and two staircases and other offices on the south. The western end, where probably was originally the kitchen, was at the same time converted into two magnificent rooms, a dining and a drawing-room, with projecting bay-windows, and having internally rich Renaissance fireplaces, door-cases, cornices, and ceilings, and in the dining-room a curious internal porch. The alterations seem to have been conversions, not additions, except the bay-window, the original wall appearing to have had the same extent westward as at present.

It is not possible to say whether the projection on the north side is part of the original design, or an addition of this period, but probably the latter.

At the opposite end of the hall we find a groined passage leading from the south-east angle, eastward, to the stairs of the chapel, and to the present kitchen and other offices, and northward to the entrance of a winding or newel-staircase, which communicated with all the stories of the house. Out of the southern part of this passage are three arches or doorways opening into a room with a plain quadripartite groined roof of three bays, which reaches to the north front, where it is lighted by two windows, and it has had originally a doorway leading into the passage before mentioned. Adjoining it is another groined room of small size, which opens into the same passage. The other rooms which communicate with it are a small tower at the south-east angle, and two other groined rooms, one of which is under the chapel, and has some good bosses at the intersection of the ribs.

The chapel, which is on the upper floor, is approached from the passage by a long flight of stone steps. It is of small dimensions, being only 17 ft. 7 in. by 10 ft. 9 in.; but lofty, and occupying the height of the two other stories. The chapel was usually the room next in importance to the hall, but it varied very much in size and situation. The east window is large and ornamental, similar to a church window; and the altar immediately under it, and supported on three stone brackets. The floor of the chapel is paved with encaustic tiles, among which are many good and valuable patterns.

At the west end is a door communicating with the

principal rooms, and immediately within the entrance from the steps is a doorway, now blocked up, which communicated with a staircase leading to the upper rooms ; and outside the entrance-door, on the top of the flight of steps, is the entrance to another newel-staircase, also leading to the upper rooms, and from this is a grated opening looking into the chapel. The room above is large, and is lighted by two large square-headed windows with Perpendicular tracery. From this room a square opening, 10 in. from the floor, and 3 ft. 6 in. in height (since blocked up), looked into the chapel.

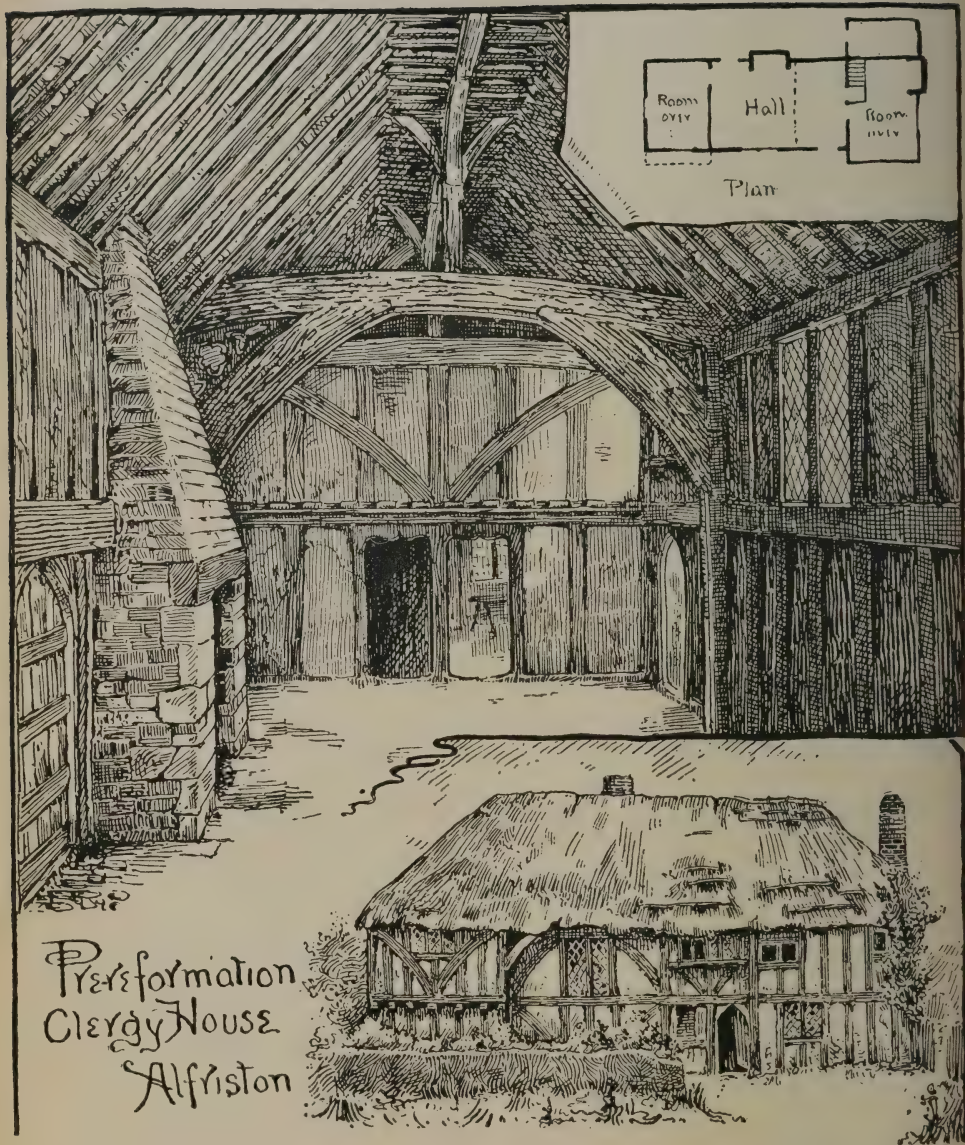
Immediately over the large room adjoining the chapel are two apartments in the roof, having a door opening on to the leads within the parapet. This is called the guard-room ; and there is another and larger apartment, occupying the whole roof of the east part of the building, which is called the barracks, and the door of which opens on to the same leads. It is very probable they were both originally intended for the purposes which their names indicate, and much more so that they were actually used for this purpose when the Castle was garrisoned in the civil wars.

The gate-house is of two different dates ; the lower story, from its mouldings and the corbels remaining within the archway, being clearly of the fourteenth century, while the upper story is as clearly of that of the fifteenth.

A portion of the ancient wall with its battlements, extending from the west side of the gate-house almost to the north-west angle of the house, still remains, and being almost covered with ivy adds greatly to the picturesque appearance of the gate-house and bridge.

Full details of the several families who have possessed this Castle will be found in Skelton's *Antiquities of Oxfordshire* and in Beesley's *History of Banbury*.

The above description of the Castle I have abridged from the *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, by the late J. H. Parker, and I have enlarged the plan exhibited from the same work.



Obituary.

MR. J. W. GROVER, F.S.A.

It is with much regret that we announce the death, on the 23rd of August last, of our old and much esteemed Associate and Vice-President, J. W. Grover, Esq. He was a Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and became an Associate of our Society in 1866. He was engaged in engineering works in connection with railways, and more recently water-supply in this country and many parts of the world ; and whenever he was employed in his professional pursuits he was always on the look-out for any traces of archæological remains, for the discovery of which his professional training gave him an acute perception, and he was thus enabled to record many interesting discoveries, chiefly connected with the Roman occupation of our own island. Thus it was that on a professional visit to the neighbourhood of Cirencester he paid a visit to Chedworth Villa almost as soon as it was brought to light, a very interesting account of which appears in our *Journal*. More recently he took great interest in the excavations at Silchester, and gave an interesting account of the work which had then been done, under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, at our Oxford Congress in the year 1889, in which he allowed his imagination to pass beyond the bounds of the dry bones of mere archæological treatment, and painted a vivid and interesting picture of a Roman municipal town, and peopled it with the busy throng of an industrious race.

Mr. Grover was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1878, and a Vice-President of this Association on the 4th March 1891.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Pre-Reformation Clergy House at Alfriston, Sussex.—The Old Clergy House at Alfriston, which is in urgent need of repair, is a building erected in the fourteenth century, apparently of contemporary date with the adjoining Church of St. Andrew, colloquially known as “The Cathedral of the South Downs.” It is constructed of oak framing, with the interstices filled in with “wattle and dab”. It consists of a

central hall (23 ft. by 17 ft.) the entire height of the building, with an open-timbered roof with large cambered tie-beams and moulded king-posts used as a support to the upper part of the roof, after the manner usual in Sussex ecclesiastical buildings. This hall was apparently used as a general living and reception-room by the mediæval clergy. On either side of this hall are smaller rooms, two stories in height (the one end now temporarily used as a reading-room), which were probably the dormitories and offices, etc.

The building is of a character rarely found in England, and is, therefore, of national interest, as it is an important piece of evidence showing the manner in which the parochial clergy, as distinguished from the monastic establishments, lived in England in the Middle Ages. The building is now in a very dangerous condition, and although for the last three years everything has been done to preserve it from actually falling, it has become obvious that unless its preservation is at once seriously taken in hand, it will not survive the storms of another winter. The building was carefully examined in 1890, and the cost of an entire preservation will be about £450. The Sussex Archæological Society, at a General Meeting, were "of opinion that every effort should be made to secure the preservation of so interesting an example as the Old Vicarage House of Alfriston." "With this opinion the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings cordially agrees." As soon as funds are forthcoming, and before further outlay, steps will be taken to arrange with the Patron and Bishop to secure the building to the parish for ever, as a reading-room and for other parochial uses.

Subscriptions and donations may be forwarded to Rev. F. W. Beynon, Alfriston Vicarage, Berwick, Sussex.

Reproduction of the Liber Vitæ in Facsimile.—Mr. Henry Littlehales hopes to produce the Durham *Liber Vitæ* in facsimile by photography. The value of such a work will lie chiefly in the fact that each page will display the arrangement of the names by successive scribes from the ninth century, and where a later insertion has been entered amongst those of an earlier period, the approximate date of such an entry will be supplied by the form of its appearance. The size of the reproduction will be 4to., and will consist of 129 pages in facsimile. A Second Part, containing a short Introduction, etc., will be issued separately, and subsequently.

The number of copies will be limited, and the price will be one guinea to subscribers. On publication the price will be raised to thirty shillings. Part I, consisting of Introduction, etc., may be had separately, price one shilling, on application to the author at Clovelly House, Bexley Heath.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1892.

SELBY ABBEY CHURCH.

BY J. P. PRITCHETT, ESQ., OF DARLINGTON, MEMBER OF COUNCIL
FOR YORKSHIRE.

(Continued from p. 99.)

HAVING, at the close of the former part of this paper, said that the Jesse window, tombs, and bosses would form delightful subjects for a second paper, I have been asked to prepare such, and have pleasure in doing so, especially as my labours have been lessened by the assistance of the gentleman named in note 1.

First, *the Window*. This seven-light window is considered on the whole to be the finest Jesse window in existence, though those at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury (eight-light), and Carlisle Cathedral (nine-light), excel in some points, which, however, in the limits of this paper, cannot be gone into. The arrangement of the figures in the lights will be best understood by the diagram on the next page.

Above the centre light, in an important opening in the tracery, is our Lord on the Cross, and over Him descends a dove, with outstretched wings. The centre light has the figures robed in blue, green, and yellow, on a red background, with a border of yellow crowns on a blue ground, supposed to be meant for the arms of St. Edmund, King of East Anglia, one of the most popular saints of mediæval England.

The lights on each side (1 r. and 1 l.) have the figures chiefly in red, with occasional green and yellow vestments, on a blue background, and having margins of yellow lions

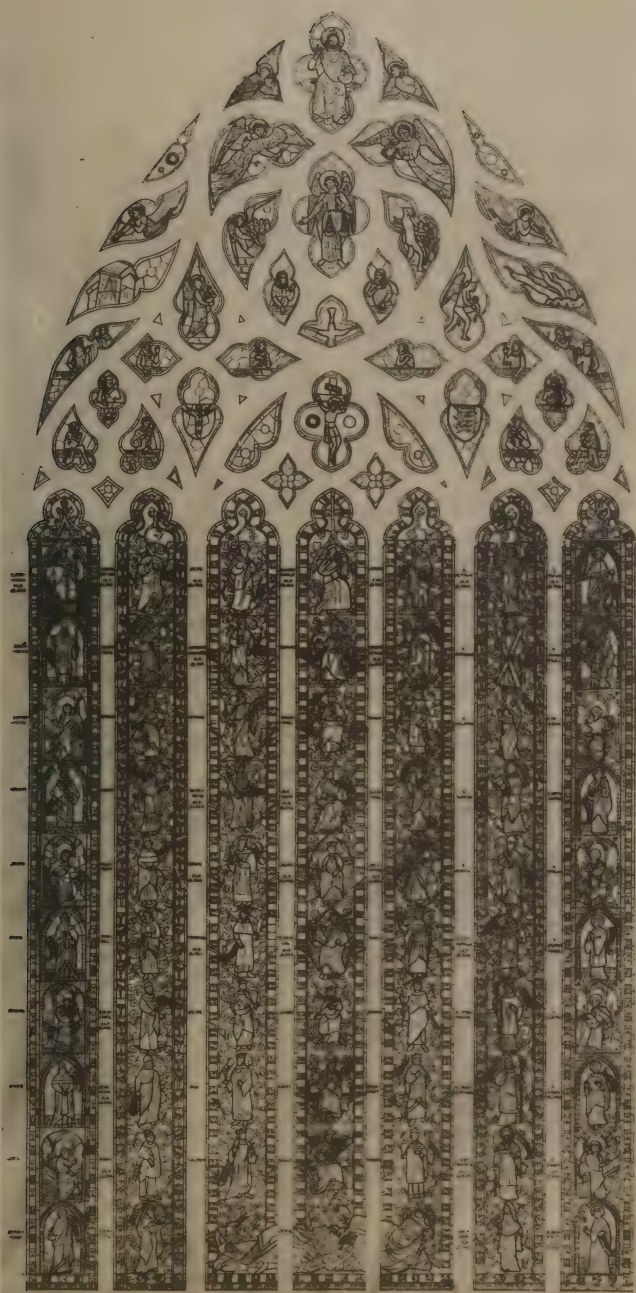
3 right	2 right	1 right	Centre	1 left	2 left	3 left
K S. Germanus o	Johannes Baptista o	Jacob o	B. V. and Child o	Joseph o	S. Petrus o	S. Paulus o
I Zacharias (Zechariah)	Malachias (Malachi)	Herodes Ascalonita o	Helkiah	Herodes Tetrarcha o	S. Andrew	S. Jacobus Major
H Sophonias (Zephaniah)	Aggæus (Haggai)	Azarias	Zorobabel	Abiud	S. Philipus	S. Matthæus
G Nahum	Habzarac (Habakkuk)	Zedekias (Zedekiah) o	Joachim (Jehoia-kim) o	Salathiel	S. Thomas	S. Bartholomæus
F Jonas	Michæus (Michael)	Amon o	Josias o	Jechonias o	S. Judas	S. Marcus
E Amos	Daniel	Manasses o	Ezechias (Hezekiah) o	Achaz (Ahaziah)	S. Gregorius o	S. Jacobus Minor
D Abdias (Obadiah)	Ezekiel o	Ozias (Uzziah)	Joram	Joatham	S. Ambrosius	S. Lucas
C Osee (Hoshea)	Jeremias o	Asa	Abias (Abijah)	Josaphat (Jehoshaphat)	S. Augustinus	S. Simon Zelotes
B Joel	Ysaïas o	Solomon	David	Reboam	S. Hieronymus (S. Jerome) o	S. Johannes o
A Abraham	Samuel	Jesse lying asleep with five branches growing out from him			Sarasam, one of the Magi o	S. Benedict o

Those figures marked o are of ancient glass.

on a red ground, supposed to represent the lions of England.

The next lights (2 r. and 2 l.) have the figures chiefly robed in blue, green, and yellow, on red background, and having fanciful borders of brown squirrels, seated in branches of yellow hazel, on a blue and red ground.

The outer lights on each side (3 r. and 3 l.) have the



SELBY ABBEY YORKSHIRE RESTORATION OF THE GREAT EAST WINDOW ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL DESIGN

figures chiefly in red robes, with blue backgrounds, and having borders of yellow castles with three turrets (the castle triple-towered *or*, the arms of Queen Eleanor of Castile), alternating with white cups having covers and handles (referring to the province of Galicia, added to Castile A.D. 1217), all on red grounds.

It will be seen from the diagram, and the photograph of the window, that the central five lights are occupied by the branches of the tree which envelope kings, prophets, New Testament saints, and Fathers of the Church. This tree symbolises the Church, the dwelling-place of the saints, taken no doubt from Ecclus. xxiv, 16, 17: "As the turpentine tree I stretched out my branches, and my branches are the branches of honour and grace. As the vine, brought I forth pleasant savour, and my flowers are the fruit of honour and riches."

The late Mr. James Fowler suggests that Pope may have had such a tree in his mind when he penned the opening of his *Messiah*:—

"From Jesse's root behold a branch arise,
Whose sacred flower with fragrance fills the skies;
'Th' ethereal spirit o'er its leaves shall move,
And on its top descends the mystic Dove."

It will be seen that the central three lights represent the descent of our Lord through the Kings of Judah, from Jesse who occupies the width of the three rights in the lowest part. Samuel, who recognised David as King of Judah, on the 2 r. light, being balanced by Sarasam (one of the Magi), who recognised the Infant Christ as the King of the World, in light 2 l.; whilst Abraham, the founder of the Jewish race, in A 3 r. is balanced by St. Benedict, the founder of the Order to which Selby Abbey belonged, and who was therefore, in the eyes of the monkish artists, quite as important a person, no doubt, as Abraham. The next four spaces in light 2 r., B, C, D, and E, are occupied by the four Major Prophets, who foretold Christ's coming, balanced in 2 l. by four of the principal Latin Fathers, who wrote about Christ after He had come. The next four, F, G, H, and I, in 2 r., and eight in 3 r., contain the twelve Minor Prophets, balanced in the corresponding spaces in 2 l. and 3 l. by eleven of the Apostles and St. Luke the Evangelist.

On the top spaces the Virgin Mary and Infant Christ, in the centre, are supported by Jacob and Joseph on each side, and in 2 r. John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, is balanced in 2 l. by St. Peter, who (according to the monkish idea of the time) was the successor of Christ on earth, transmitting his authority to *his* successors, the Popes. The top space, K, in outer light 3 r., represents St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, 418, patron-saint of the Abbey, having been sent by Pope Celestinus in 429 and 447 to Britain to controvert its Pelagian heresy; he is balanced in light 3 l. by St. Paul, the great doctrinal writer of the New Testament.

I think this brief description will show that, making due allowance for the fancies of the period, there is a beautiful harmony of idea running through the composition.

The upper part, or tracery head, of the window is occupied by the subject commonly called a "*Doom*". In seven of the lower small compartments on each side are kings and other ranks of people rising from beautifully sculptured tombs. In the central large compartment is St. Michael weighing souls, suggested, it is supposed, by the passages, "Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting" (Dan. v, 27); and the following, "At that time shall Michael stand up . . . and they that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake" (Dan. xii, 1 and 2).

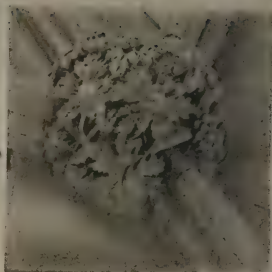
On the right is an angel carrying good souls to Heaven, represented by a Church, where another angel stands at the open door to receive them; and on the left is a demon carrying lost souls to Hell, which is represented by red flames. Above all is Christ, seated on a throne as judge, with His right hand raised, and holding the world in His left hand. Below and around are six angels, two of them with six wings ("with twain he covered his face, with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly"), two blowing trumpets, and two flying with the crown of thorns and the nails; whilst in two of the outer panels are representations of the sun, moon, and stars, darkened. Between the "*Doom*" and the tree there is a shield on each side, that on the right representing the arms of the archbishopric of York, but changed in carrying out the work to those of the Abbey; and on the left the arms of



A A



A



3

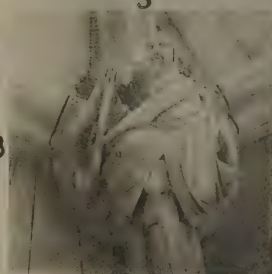


A B



2

B



6



B B



8

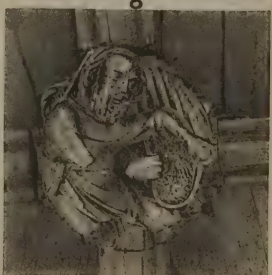
B



9



B B



11

OAK BOSSES
IN CHOIR
SELBY ABBEY CHURCH

10

England used up to the victory of Crecy, 1346, "*gules, three lions passant guardant.*"

The whole window is magnificent in conception, most sumptuous in colour and execution, and the restoration of the lost parts is so perfectly in harmony with the ancient glass as to reflect the highest credit on Messrs. Ward and Hughes, who executed it, on the Rev. A. G. Tweedie, who suggested it and had general charge of the works, and to Mr. Liversidge, who so nobly defrayed the heavy cost. It now only remains to say that the best authorities put the date of the glass at about 1340, which cannot be much later than the stone mullions and tracery; in fact, the glass would no doubt be several years in hand whilst the Church was getting ready for it.

In restoring the window, the artist, Mr. Curtis, of the firm of Ward and Hughes, was guided (1) by the twenty-four ancient figures (marked o in the diagram), which fortunately had the labels attached, and as it could be seen that there was old glass belonging to each light, the colour of background and treatment of the borders was decided; and (2) by the analogy of other windows, especially St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, from which the principal figure, Jesse, was copied line for line.

We now come to the oak bosses of the choir groining, twenty-two of which were photographed, when the scaffolding was up, by the Vicar, from whose negatives they are reproduced in the accompanying Plate.

The twenty-two may be classed thus: A. Four of foliage, viz., (1) ivy; (2) rose; (3) vine; (4) convolvulus. B. Men engaged in agricultural occupations, viz., two digging (5 and 6); one pruning (7); three gathering fruit and flowers (8, 9, and 10); one emptying fruit from a basket (11); and two holding implements of husbandry like flails (12 and 13). c. Fanciful. Girl riding a horse (14); and a man kneeling holding two cups or vases (15), ? offerings to the Abbey; man holding cup or chalice and cover, with grapes and vine leaves round (16); kings kneeling and holding boxes (17 and 18), ? Kings of the East offering gifts to the Infant Christ. d. Ecclesiastical. Mitred abbot giving the benediction (19). E. Scriptural. Woman and serpent or dragon (20), ? the dragon waiting to devour the man child when born; Virgin and Child (21).

F. Doubtful. Right arm broken off, left hand holding what may be an earthen vessel. The series is so interesting that I hope, if an opportunity occurs again, the rest of the choir bosses will be photographed, as well as those in the nave of the fifteenth century, and which, as far as one can judge from the ground level, are imitations of those in the choir.

Monuments.—It now only remains to give the inscriptions still left on the monuments of former abbots.

John de Shirburne, elected 1368. A large alabaster slab in the choir bears the following :—

“In Selby natus, Johannes de Shirburne vocitatus
Funere prostratus, abbas jacet hic tumulatus :
Annis ter denis notus, vixit bene plenis,
Qui demptis pœnis, turmis jungatur amœnis.

Amen.”

This abbot was one of the principal witnesses for Lord Scroope in the famous suit with Sir Robt. Grosvenor, respecting the right to wear the “*azure, a bend or*” for his arms.

William Pygot, elected 1407, died 1429. Monument in north aisle :—

“Hic jacet Will. Pygot quondam abbas istius
monasterii qui obiit xxvi mensis Junii
an. dom. millesimo cccc°xxix. Cujus animæ
propicietur Deus. Amen.”

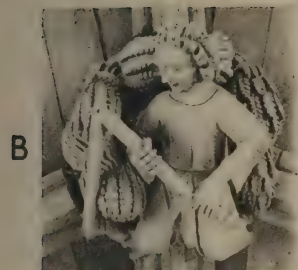
John Cave, elected 1429, died 1436 :—

“Hic jacet Johannes Cave quondam abbas istius
monasterii qui obiit nono die mensis Junii
A.D. mcccc°xxxvi. Cujus animæ
propicietur Deus. Amen.”

Lawrence Selby, elected 1486, died 1504. A large slab, having a full-length figure, and the arms of the monastery :—

“Hic jacet Lawrentius Selby quondam abbas istius
monasterii qui obiit iii calendi Aprilis A.D.
mccciv. Cujus animæ propicietur Deus. Amen.”

John Barwic, elected 1522, died 1526. This is a very fine slab, bearing the effigy of an abbot in full canonicals, with his hands joined in prayer, and holding a crozier in his right hand :—



B

B

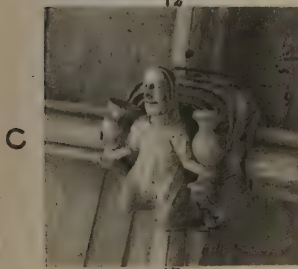
12



13



14



C

C

15



16



17



C

D

18

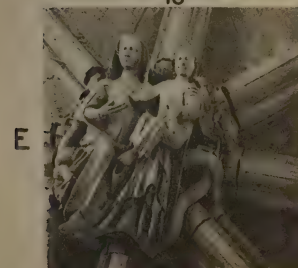


19



E

20



E

F

21



22

OAK BOSSES
IN CHOIR
SELBY ABBEY CHURCH

"Fato lugefero jacet hic tellure Joh'es
 Domⁿ Barwic' op'e valde bon' Bis binis
 a' nis Pastor laudabile cunctis exempla
 sic penetratur pola q' obiit kl' Apl'
 anno d'ni MDXXVI. C' an'æ p'p't D'."

He was the last man who died as Abbot of Selby, his successor being pensioned off with the then large sum of £100 a year, when the Abbey was dissolved in 1540.

NOTES.

Note 1.—I must acknowledge my obligations to the Rev. A. G. Tweedie, and to Mr. Curtis of the firm of Ward and Hughes, for information respecting the authority for restoration of the window. Also to the former for a loan of his photographic negatives of the bosses, and to the latter for the loan of his beautiful drawing of the window; and to Mr. McLeish, of Darlington, for a set of photos of the bosses from Mr. Tweedie's negatives.

Note 2.—In the former part of this paper (p. 93) I said that "Selby Abbey Church is the only monastic church in Yorkshire which is not wholly or in part a ruin". I wish it to be understood that I meant *monastic only*. Churches at Allerton-Maulevere, Birstal, and Snaith, all still in use, were parochial as well as Benedictine churches; and Lastingham, though a cell of Whitby, 1078-88, became a parish Church only on the removal of the Benedictine monks to St. Mary's, York, 1299.

My statement that St. Mary's, Scarborough, is the only Cistercian church in the country still in use must be rather qualified, as I find that Holme-Cultram, in Cumberland, still has six bays of the nave (without the aisle or clerestory) still in use; that Merevale, Warwickshire, has a church that used to be the Pilgrim's Chapel, connected with the Cistercian Abbey; and that the church at Margam, South Wales, was founded as a Cistercian Abbey, 1147, on the site of an ancient parish church, Pendar (or oak promontory), and so has part of the nave still used as the parish church. In naming the monastic churches of Bolton and Scarborough as still having their naves in use, but choirs destroyed, I might have added Bridlington, a church of the Augustinian canons, to which the same remark applies.

EARLY NORMAN SCULPTURE AT LINCOLN AND SOUTHWELL.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read at the Lincoln Congress, 1889.*)

DURING the present Congress of the British Archæological Association, held at Lincoln, our members will have an opportunity of seeing some exceptionally fine examples of early Norman sculpture. It occurred to me, therefore, that a few remarks on a subject which I have made my special study might perhaps induce some of us to look with increased interest upon the Bible pictures in stone that formed so marked a feature in the decoration of the ecclesiastical buildings of the twelfth century. Like the paintings brought back from Rome, in A.D. 675, by Benedict Biscop, to adorn his Church of St. Peter at Wermouth, these sculptures were placed in prominent positions, "so that everyone who entered the church, even if they could not read, whenever they turned their eyes might have before them the loving countenance of Christ and His Saints, though it were but in a picture, and with watchful minds might meditate upon the benefits of the Lord's Incarnation, and having before their eyes the perils of the Last Judgment, might examine their hearts more strictly on that account."¹

Bede's words apply almost exactly to the frieze of Norman sculpture on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, where the tortures of the damned are portrayed in a sufficiently realistic manner to strike terror into the soul of the most hardened sinner.

The Norman Cathedrals in England were so quickly transformed and re-modelled, owing to the rapid changes in style, which followed the introduction of the pointed arch, that no complete examples are now left to show what the scheme of the decoration of the whole fabric was like. We can only, therefore, assume that in a smaller way it resembled that of the more splendid

¹ Bede's *Lives of the Holy Abbots* (Giles edition), vol. iv, p. 369.

buildings on the Continent, such as the Cathedral of Chartres. At Lincoln, however, we are fortunate enough to possess a portion of the west front of a Norman cathedral, with its sculpture still remaining, although in a more or less mutilated condition. The subjects of the sculpture have been so admirably interpreted by Bishop Trollope, in the *Archæological Journal*,¹ that it will be unnecessary for me to describe the whole in detail. While accepting the Bishop's conclusions in the main, I am compelled to differ with him on one or two points.

Most of us are already aware that the lower part of the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, with the exception of the two towers on each side, is the work of Bishop Remigius, A.D. 1075. The general design consists of three lofty round arched recesses, the central one being higher and wider than those on either side, which have two smaller coved recesses adjoining. Just above the crown of the arches of the coved recesses, and about the level of half the height of the jambs of the two side-recesses, is a frieze, or flat band of sculpture, running horizontally right across the front, into the three large recesses, and round the north and south ends, where the sculpture can only be seen from the interior of the chapels, under the towers built on subsequently. The jambs of the large recesses are broken into two wide steps, on each of which is a plaque of sculpture. The frieze is protected from the weather by a projecting moulding, bevelled on the under side.

The theory of Cockerel and other writers was that these slabs of sculpture were not originally intended for their present position, but had been removed from an earlier Saxon building on the same site. Bishop Trollope, with more show of reason, attributes the work to Remigius, but thinks that all the slabs, with the exception of the one above the small coved recess on the north side, "have been freshly arranged, and this probably during the rebuilding of the Cathedral under Hugh and his successors".

On this point I am at issue with the Bishop. His reason for believing the slabs to have been rearranged seems to be that, according to his interpretation of the

¹ Vol. xxv, p. 1.

subjects, scenes from the Old and New Testaments are mixed up together, but I venture to suggest that on further consideration he will find that this is not so. I maintain that all the subjects to the south of the great central recess are taken from the Old Testament, and all to the north of it from the New, being as follows:—

NEW TESTAMENT SERIES.

(Missing)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
(Missing)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Torments of the damned	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Harrowing of Hell	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Souls of the wicked cast down into Hell	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Souls of the blessed taken up into Heaven	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
											N. Recess
Christ with His Disciples (?)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Supper at Emmaus	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Fragment	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
(Built up)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
(Missing)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

OLD TESTAMENT SERIES.

Central Recess

(Missing)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Adam and Eve at work	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Birth of Cain	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
(Missing)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

S. Recess

(Missing)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
God addressing Noah	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Noah building the Ark	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Daniel in the lions' den	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Noah in the Ark	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Noah leaving the Ark	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
(Missing)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Effects of the Flood	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

St. Hugh's Chapel.

On comparing this list with the one given in Bishop Trollope's paper, it will be seen that we agree about the interpretation of all, except the following:—

North face of South recess.—"Hannah and the Infant Samuel", I make out to be the "Birth of Cain".

South face of South recess.—"Christ instructing a Disciple", I make out to be "God addressing Noah".

North face of North recess.—"Christ the Custodian of the Faithful Souls", I make out to be "St. Michael carrying up Souls to Heaven".

My reason for objecting to Bishop Trollope's suggestion that the woman suckling a child is intended for "Hannah and the Infant Samuel", is because the subject is almost unknown in Christian art of the twelfth century, as may be seen by consulting the Byzantine Painter's Guide at Mount Athos, published in Miss M. Stokes' edition of Didron's *Christian Iconography* (vol. ii), where a complete list is given of the scenes usually chosen from the Bible for the decoration of Greek churches.

What I believe to be a mistake in saying that the sculpture on the south side of the south recess represents "Christ instructing a Disciple", instead of "God addressing Noah", arises from the similarity of the way in which the first and second persons of the Trinity were portrayed in Christian art, the cruciferous nimbus being used indiscriminately for either. This sculpture should be compared with the carved ivory plaque on the altar at Salerno Cathedral, a cast of which is to be seen in the South Kensington Museum.¹

The only slab of sculpture that appears to come out of its regular order is "Daniel in the Lions' Den", which differs from the rest also, in being entirely surrounded by a frame. Otherwise, standing opposite the middle of the central recess, and looking either way, we have on the south a regular series of scenes from the Old Testament, beginning at the centre and continuing southwards; and on the north a regular series of scenes from the New Testament, beginning at the centre and continuing northwards. My theory is that if some of the slabs in the jambs of the recesses had not been removed or built up, the two series would be quite complete, just as Remigius left them.

Apart from the religious aspect of these wonderful sculptures, many of the details are worthy of notice.

¹ Illustrated in Rohault de Fleury's *La Messe*, vol. i, pl. 89.

The one-sided spade used by Adam was the common form in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it even now survives in Shetland and remote parts of Ireland. Other examples occur in the Saxon MSS. in the British Museum, and on the font at Hook Norton,¹ in Oxfordshire. "Daniel in the Lions' Den", although one of the most frequent subjects in the art of the paintings of the Catacombs, ceased to be so afterwards. The number of lions at Lincoln is five, although, generally, either the seven given in the Vulgate, or two or four are shown, for the sake of symmetry.

The peculiar ring manacle worn by Satan in the scene of the Harrowing of Hell, at Lincoln, should be particularly observed, as it corresponds exactly with the description of the "ring-clasps" given in Cædmon's *Paraphrase of the Scriptures*, in the Bodleian Library. Similar representations of Satan manacled occur on the tympanum of the Norman doorway at Quenington, in Gloucestershire, and in the Saxon MS. (Tib. B. vi) in the British Museum; on a twelfth century wall painting at Chaldon, in Surrey, and on a pre-Norman sculptured stone at Kirkby Stephen, in Westmoreland. The treatment of the subject of the Doom on the tympanum at Autun, in France, may be studied with advantage for comparison with the Lincoln sculptures.

Next in interest to the sculptured frieze of Scripture subjects on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral comes the Norman font within the same building. It belongs to a type which is not uncommon on the Continent, and of which there are other fine examples in England, at St. Peter's, Ipswich; St. Michael's, Southampton; St. Mary Bourne and East Meon, Hampshire; and Winchester Cathedral. The font at Lincoln is of black marble, admirably suited for exhibiting the minutest details of the carving. The bowl is square on the outside, measuring 3 ft. 6 in. across; and round on the inside. The upper part of the bowl only is square, to a depth of 1 ft.; the lower part, which is 7 in. deep, being cut away to form the capitals of the five supporting columns. The bowl rests on a central column, 1 ft. 1 in. high, and 1 ft. 7 in. in diameter, with a smaller shaft, 6 in. in diameter, at each

¹ See J. R. Allen's "Early Christian Symbolism", p. 365.

corner. The base is 3 ft. 9 in. square, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. The square part of the bowl is sculptured on all four sides with a procession of animals, three on each face, thus :—

On the North side.—A winged bull and a winged lion facing each other, and resting their feet on two books ; a griffin, with wings and beak like a bird, facing in the opposite direction, having its back towards that of the bull.

On the South side.—A griffin, with wings, beak, and floriated tail, facing two lions, with manes and floriated tails, following one behind the other.

On the East side.—A winged beast, with mane and floriated tail, facing another similar beast, followed by a winged griffin, whose tail terminates in a serpent's head.

On the West side.—A pair of creatures, with birds' bodies and beasts' heads, placed symmetrically in the centre, with a beast behind each, having the fore-paw upraised, and manes and floriated tails.

It seems probable that the winged lion and bull, with their feet resting on books, on the north side, are intended for the symbols of St. Mark and St. Luke. On the font at St. Michael's, Southampton, the symbols of the Evangelists are mixed up in the same incongruous way with uncouth animal forms. I do not pretend to be able to explain why these curious beasts were considered to be an appropriate kind of decoration for one of the most sacred portions of an ecclesiastical building, and we can only guess at some of the ideas which the mediæval artist associated with them. The stories in the Bestiaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show to what an absurd extreme the monkish craze for moralising was pushed, so that no outward form was considered too grotesque to convey a spiritual lesson to the unlearned. I think that much of the extravagance in the appearance of the monsters depicted in mediæval art can be traced to the fact that it was looked upon as a great manifestation of the power of God that He was able to create a man, or a beast, or a centaur, at pleasure.

The only other piece of Norman sculpture to be noticed in Lincoln Cathedral is the sepulchral slab in the nave. The whole of the upper surface is carved with figures,

separated by undulating stems of foliage. There are three principal figures down the centre, and four pairs of figures in the alternate spaces at the sides. The subjects seem to be Christ enthroned in Glory; Ascent of Elijah(?); Moses holding the Tables of the Law.

In the other churches at Lincoln there is only one instance of early Norman figure-sculpture, namely, St. Peter holding a key, on a slab built high up into the wall of the west side of the tower of St. Peter at Gowts.

Let us now leave Lincoln and turn to Southwell. There is in the Minster a slab of sculpture which probably originally formed the tympanum of a Norman



Tympanum, Southwell, Notts.

doorway. The sculpture upon it represents St. Michael contending with the Dragon, and Samson or David breaking the jaw of the Lion. Both of these are well-known types of the contest between good and evil. The dragon has its tail looped and interlaced in a very curious way, being altogether Scandinavian in general appearance, and very like the dragon on the tympanum at Hoveringham, in the same neighbourhood.

Mr. Charles Keyser, F.S.A., has been kind enough to send me the following further notes about Southwell Minster:—

“The sculpture is upon the capitals of the east arch, supporting the central tower, and opening into the choir.

“*On the South side* is the ‘Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem’; ‘Our Lord Washing the Disciples’ Feet’; ‘The Maries at the Sepulchre’; and a cradle with three figures adoring.

“*On the North side.*—‘The Last Supper’ (the Holy

Dove within a medallion above); on central capital, an ecclesiastic with altar, on which is a chalice; he points towards the centre, where an angel is directing the attention of a man to the east, where two figures are seated, one, the Virgin, with a sword, and the Infant Saviour in her arms; on another capital, various figures holding palms, lilies, etc."

It would be very desirable to obtain good illustrations of these interesting pieces of sculpture described by Mr. Keyser.

THE ROUND CHURCH TOWERS OF ESSEX.

BY J. M. WOOD, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 237.)

SOUTH OCKENDEN.

The Parish.—The parish of South Ockendon is situated in the southern part of the county of Essex, in the hundred of Chafford, and is about four miles from Grays Thurrock and the River Thames. There are two parishes contiguous called by the name of Ockendon, but distinguished from each other by North and South, the villages being only about one mile apart. South Ockendon is bordered on the north by North Ockendon and a parish called Cranham, on the south by Stifford, on the east by Ossett, and on the west by Avely. In the records Ockendon is recorded under various names, among the following are some of them: Wokendon, Wokyndon, Wochaduna, Okingdon, Lockington, and Lareckington, Wokendon Rokele or Okendon Rochele, and Wokindonad-Turrim. The former of these two latter, Salmon, in his *History of Essex*, considers takes its name “from an ancient owner”, and the latter “from its tower or steeple, as we may believe is the case at Little Easton and Steeple Bumsted, in Essex”.

There are five entries in the *Domesday Book* with reference to Ockendons, but no church or priest is mentioned. They are as follows:—

The land of St. Peter's of Westminster, Hundred of Ceffeorda, Wochenduna (North Ockendon). William the Chamberlain holds of the abbot i hide, and there is i team in the demesne, and i team of homagers and iv villeins. It is worth xl shillings.

Hundred of Ceffeorda (Hundred of Chafford), Wochenduna (North Ockenden), was held by Harold for a manor and ii hides, less xl acres, in the time of King Edward; now St. Peter holds it. Then there were viii villeins, now vii; then v bordars, now viii; always iv serfs and ii

teams in the demesne, etc. It was then worth iv pounds, now x. This estate is for an exchange made since the King sailed across the sea.

The See of the Bishop of London, Hundred of Ceffeorda (Chafford Hundred), Wochenduna Episcopi (Cranham). Wochenduna was held by Aluric, in the time of King Edward, for a manor and iii hides, and xl acres; it is now held by Hugo of the Bishop. There were then vi villeins, now viii; then v bordars, now xv; then vi serfs, now iv, etc. It was then and afterwards worth iv pounds, now vi.

In Wochenduna the King has i soc-man of xxv acres. Then this was worth xxxii pence lii.

Hundred of Ceffeorda (Chafford Hundred). Wochaduna (South Ockendon) is held of Geoffrey by Turolde; it was held by Frebertus, a thane, in free tenure for i manor, and for x and a half hides and xx acres, and Geoffrey has it in exchange as he asserts. Always iii villeins, xxxiv bordars; then iii serfs, now none, etc. Then and when he got possession, it was worth vii pounds; now it is worth xvi pounds. On this property are xiii soc-men, who hold in free tenure viii and a half hides and xx acres, etc.

From these entries it is probable that in the reign of Edward the Confessor the greater part, or the whole, of these lands, now known as North and South Ockendon, and Cranham, belonged to Frebert, a thane. At the time of the Norman survey the larger portion of these lands formed part of the lordly possessions of Geoffrey de Mandaville, Earl of Essex.

The parish of Cranham, before mentioned, does not appear in the records before the reign of King Edward IV. Morant, in his *History of Essex*, states that "it was first called Cranham in 1461; it originally belonged to North Ockendon, and in old records commonly named Wokyndon Episcopi, but for above these two hundred years till now called Cranham at Wokyndon, or Okendon Episcopi". Ockendon, or Wokendon, was a name probably common to this district, when it came to be divided into three lordships, South and North, and this in particular Ockendon Episcopi, now Cranham.

With reference to the etymology of the word Ockendon, it seems doubtful if it is derived from a proper name,

or whether from the Saxon *Ac ing dun*, *i.e.*, Oak Pasture Hill, or from *Wocen* or *Woca*, proper names as they were so called, I am not able to determine. Whereas Salmon "states that Ockendon is named from the number of oaks they produced. *Ing* will signify land, and *Dune* a rising ground above the marshes".

It is evident that at the time of the survey the neighbourhood of the Ockendons was to a great extent a forest, with roads probably running through it, as the returns in the Domesday show that vast numbers of cattle were allowed in the woods, especially hogs or swine.

As to the parish having been recorded as *Wokendon-ad-Turrin*, is certainly evidence of the existence of a tower at early times, and applies most probably to the existing round church tower.

The Church.—The Church of South Ockendon stands on the highest land in the parish, and is pleasantly situated on the green, alongside of the main road from Grays, on the river Thames, to Brentwood and Warley. It has been ably described by Buckler, in his *Churches of Essex* in 1856, prior to its restoration, which took place in 1866, when, I am sorry to say, the whole structure was sadly mutilated. I shall not attempt to describe the church in detail, for two reasons; first, because it is outside the scope of this paper; and secondly, because I could not improve the description already existing, by Buckler, of the original fabric.

I will, however, just give an outline description, without going into any detail, to enable you to draw conclusions, and to form some idea of the character of the church to which the round tower is attached. The church is dedicated to St. Nicholas, the authority for such being Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, 1742; Bacon's *Liber Regis*, 1786; Newcourt's *Repertorium*; and Morant's *History of Essex*; while on the other hand, Salmon, in his *History of Essex*, 1740, states that it is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. This is probably an error, and may have arisen from the fact that North Ockendon Church, in the adjoining parish, is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen.

As to the early history of the church, little appears to be known. Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, quotes from a manuscript, which is as follows: "The church here was

in old time only a free chapel, for as such Sir Maurice de Bruin presented to it, A.D. 1326 ; but in the next vacancy, in 1328, the same Sir Maurice presented the same person to it as a rectory, so it has continued ever since." Morant and Salmon, in their *Histories of Essex*, state that a church existed earlier than this, but they do not state their authorities ; but such undoubtedly was the case, as the style of architecture amply proves.

The church, prior to its restoration, consisted of a chancel, north chapel, nave, north aisle, porch, and west round tower ; the predominant style of architecture of the church is that known as " Early Pointed", and probably is of the latter end of the twelfth century. The proportion of the nave on plan is similar to that of a Norman church, and I should not be at all surprised to find that, if ever the foundations were uncovered, the remains of a Norman church would be found ; besides, the west wall of the nave, where it abuts on to the tower, is abnormally thick, much thicker in fact than the walls of the north aisle, the set-off being on the outside, the quoin of which is formed of Barnack stone.

The main entrance into the church is through a door in the wall of the north aisle. The doorway is so beautiful, that I should like to draw your attention to it. Buckler pronounced it to be " a choice specimen of Norman detail, though not even alluded to by the county historians"; he further adds : " though small compared with many examples of Norman doorways, the variety and combination of the ornaments around the arch are remarkable, and produce an effect rarely to be met with." It is to my mind the richest and most superb piece of Norman work in Essex ; and I am glad to report that it is in a fairly good state of repair, it having by some means or another escaped mutilation at the restoration. This doorway certainly has the appearance of being of a much earlier date than the existing north aisle and nave. For an illustration of the doorway see Britton's *Antiquities*, and for a detailed description see Buckler's *Churches of Essex*.

The church contains a very fine stately Elizabethan monument, to the memory of Sir Richard Saltenstall, knight, and his wife, erected in 1601 ; it is composed of

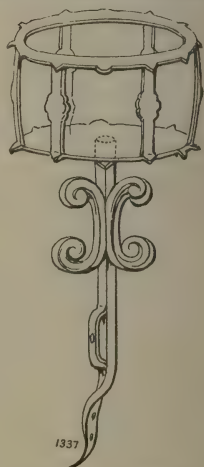
variegated marble, and highly emblazoned. I am glad to say this has not been restored, but nevertheless it is in rather a dilapidated condition. There are also the remains of some very fine brasses, among which is a brass to Ingelram Bruyor, or Bruin, knight, lord of the village, and patron of this church; he died 12th Aug. 1400. This brass, or what remains of it, is one of the finest specimens in Essex of a warrior in plate armour. In 1856 this brass was in a fairly perfect condition, being only minus its head; a few years ago, however, it was pulled out of its Purbeck slab to make room for a second-hand organ. It is now, with all its rich canopies, etc., built into the rubble walling of the chapel, where it has been shamefully treated, nails having been driven right through the brass for the purpose of attaching it to the walls; other brasses have been similarly treated.

I have drawn the attention of the Society for Preserving Memorials of the Dead to the condition of these monuments, and I venture to think if a small sum of money were judiciously laid out, it would be the means of preserving for many years these interesting artistic relics of the past.

I should like to record the fact that this little wrought-iron hour-glass stand (see sketch) was found on a heap of rubbish in the churchyard after the restoration, by Mr. W. Springham, a blacksmith in the parish, who has faithfully repaired it, and again placed it on the pulpit.

With reference to the restoration of this church I am inclined to think that had it been placed in the hands of the village tradesmen, such as the blacksmith, mason, and bricklayer, there is a probability that it would have been restored more in character with the then existing fabric than it is, for the reason that not being architects it is probable they would not have been acquainted with any other style than that already existing in their church, therefore it is not unreasonable to suppose they would have done their best to copy the old work.

The Tower.—Very little of the original work of South

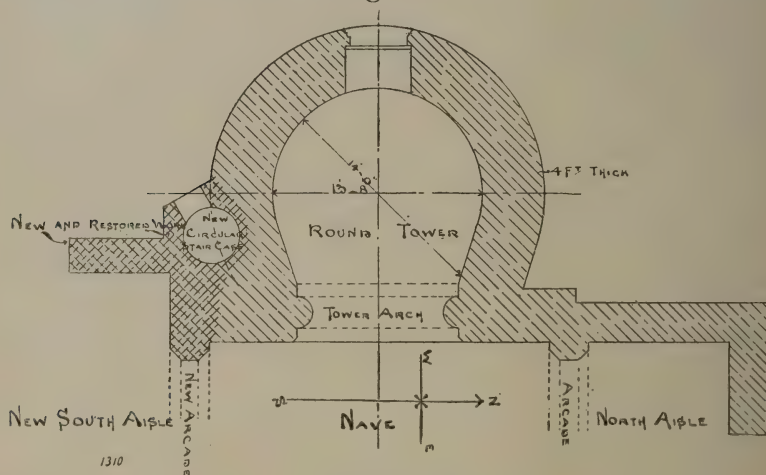


Hour-glass Stand,
Ockenden Church.

Ockendon round church tower remains to be seen at the present day, either internally or externally; it has, in common with other parts of the church, been shamefully restored away. The tower originally was built of rough rubble masonry, the face work of which has been entirely pulled down and refaced, in what one might call nineteenth century flint work; original windows and openings have been blocked up, pulled down, rebuilt, and otherwise disfigured to such an extent that it would have been impossible to tell to what period any part of the tower belonged had it not been previously recorded by Buckler in his valuable and interesting work on South Ockenden Church; valuable as it is, containing as it does a description of this church and tower prior to its last complete mutilation. And last, but not least, in connection with this so-called restoration, the upper part of the tower has been entirely rebuilt, the design totally differing from that of the original building, the summit being now embattled with stone, and pierced with large circular-headed windows, having massive stone mullions. The tower has now the appearance of being out of proportion, and much too high for its diameter, the restored style being unmistakably nineteenth century work.

The tower, like those before described, is situated at the west end of the nave, and is joined on to the nave walling; the centre line of the nave passes through the tower, as shown on the plan. On plan the tower is round, although slightly irregular, and, like the Essex towers before described, is a little flat on the east face, where it is joined on to the nave. Like Great Leghs it has two entrances, one being on the west face, and the other on the east. That on the east is open to the nave, and consists of a very fine early pointed stone tower arch of noble proportions, and coeval with the arches forming the arcade dividing the north aisle from the nave. The arch is massive, with two chamfered reveals; the outer reveal is carried down to the floor, while the inner reveal rests upon large bold semicircular stone columns, 2 ft. in diameter, with deeply sunk moulded capitals and bases. The height from the floor of the nave to the soffit of this arch being 13 ft., and the width of the opening between the semicircular columns is 8 ft. 6 in. The entrance on the

west face is through a very slightly pointed opening, so slight in fact as to be nearly semicircular, and is said by Buckler to be "Early Perpendicular". This door or entrance, like Great Leghs, is undoubtedly an innovation; Great Leghs being the only other round tower of Essex having a western entrance. The width of this opening on the outside, between the stone quoins, is 3 ft. 10 in., and 4 ft. 4 in. in the inside between the reveals. The existing height of the tower as restored is about 56 ft. from the floor in the inside to the top of the stone embattlement. At the time Buckler wrote his description of the church, he states that the tower, in its decapitated condition, is 37 ft. in height, and surmounted at summit with a conical tiled covering.



Plan of Tower.

The original tower was probably intact up to 1638, when the upper part was struck with lightning and destroyed, the top of the tower at that time being surmounted with a wooden spire. In Buckler's book there is a sketch showing the condition of the tower in 1856, and judging from this, and the tower even in its restored condition, it certainly had originally a resemblance to those of Great Leghs and Broomfield, especially in the dimensions of the base and the position of the windows; its height when intact probably did not exceed 45 ft., which would be equal to about 2 diameters. The diameter of the tower internally varies from 13 ft. 9 in. to

14 ft., the rubble walls being about 4 ft. thick, consequently the external diameter is about 22 ft., therefore the height of the tower as restored is $2\frac{3}{4}$ diameters. The basement, or lower part of the tower, is covered over with plaster internally, so that no original rubble work can be seen, nor can any junction between nave and tower walling be seen, if any exists. Besides the two openings in the basement, or first storey, viz., the western entrance and the tower arch, there is a window immediately above the west entrance, which gives light to this storey. It still bears traces of an ancient window, being semicircular; it is 2 ft. wide, and about 4 ft. high to the soffit of the arch, and heavily splayed in the inside, being 3 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. 9 in. wide. This window has undergone considerable alteration, the arch and quoins, both inside and out, having been rebuilt of red modern bricks, and you can well imagine how they harmonise with the restored flint work, to say nothing of the old rubble work.

The tower internally, when intact, was undoubtedly divided into three storeys or floors, viz., the first, or basement storey; the second, or middle storey; and the third, the top or belfry storey, if any bells then existed. The basement storey is 17 ft. 6 in. in height, being divided from the second storey by a wood floor, which has been renewed, but appears to be in its original position. From this floor a small surface of the original rubble walling can be seen, the stones forming the rubble being nearly all rounded and water-worn, and not angular, and are laid in lime mortar, with some slight respect to courses. In the wall on the eastern side of the tower, and directly over the centre of the pointed tower arch, are two roughly turned stone semicircular arches, probably introduced to relieve the arch from the superincumbent weight of the superstructure. Whether they are coeval with the main structure of the tower it is difficult to say. They have also the appearance of assisting to gather over from the straight line of the nave wall into the circular walling of the tower, and are filled in with rubble work. The diameter of the tower on this floor is more regular, being 14 ft. in all directions. This storey receives light from two windows or openings (it originally had three), the distance from the floor to the sills being different in each

window, the window on the west face, immediately above the one in the basement, being similar in every respect, and still bears a trace of antiquity, for all the barbarous treatment it has been subjected to. The opening in the north face has been treated with more consideration. It is of greater antiquity than any of the openings in the tower, being a rectangular slit, 12 in. wide and 3 ft. 6 in. high, the outside quoins of which are of Barnack stone (?), but internally, alas ! the opening has not escaped the hands of the modern bricklayer ; being once heavily splayed to the extent of 3 ft. 2 in. in width, it is now filled in square with red brickwork. As to the third window, it has entirely passed away, the aperture having been enlarged to form a doorway, which is in connection with a modern circular stone staircase built on to the outside of the tower ; this staircase being for the purpose of getting into the second storey of the tower. With reference to this staircase I shall have a word or two to say shortly. The height of the second storey is 13 ft. 4 in., although Buckler states it to be 12 ft. 6 in., which may have been the case, alteration and restorations since then having been the order of the day.

Ascending now to the second stage, or floor, one finds that the ruthless hands of the destroyer have been exceedingly industrious here. In 1856 Buckler states "the top or belfry storey is but 6 ft. 6 in. in height, and contained the remains of four windows, one on each face, and all similar, being heavily splayed on the inside." Half of these windows only remain, being shortened when the upper part of the tower was destroyed ; there are no stones or arches across the openings to connect the walls ; they appeared always to have been of larger dimensions than those on the lower storeys ; in their present state they are 18 in. in width on the outside, spreading to 4 ft. 4 in. inside. By raising the roof of the nave, in the seventeenth century, the east window of the tower was enclosed ; it now gives access, and admits air, to the timbers of the roof. At the present time a trace of one of these openings only remains. At a distance of 6 ft. from the floor of this storey is the last trace of the ancient walling, which is here only 3 ft. 6 in. in thickness, the set-off being on the inside ; above all this is the restored part of the tower.

Since Buckler wrote, the only bell has been re-hung, on new timber framing. It is about 2 ft. in diameter, and having several coins of King Charles II's reign cast therein, with the following inscription in Roman capitals irregularly disposed in three lines :

“ John : and . Christopher : Hodson : made me : 1678
 This : bell : was : given : by : Richard : Mulford : Sexton :
 of : this : parish
 And : heare : placed . TH : IL : then Churchwardens.”

Externally, the tower now calls for few remarks from an antiquarian point of view, except that in general outline it bears the germ of antiquity.

The window openings on the west face are immediately above one another; between these two windows a Norman, or Early English grotesque head has been built into the restored flint work, in a similar manner to what one would see at the present day at St. Alban's Abbey. The opening in the north face was about half way up the original tower; it is just such a rectangular slit as one would see in the ruins of an early Norman castle, and may have performed the same function, as the splaying on the inside would admit of the free use of the crossbow. Throughout the external walling, and interspersed at intervals, are large pieces of stone, and consist of Barnack, sandstone, and clunch.

In the south angle of the tower, at the junction of the circular walling with the nave, and shown on the plan, is the circular stone staircase previously referred to. It was built at the time of the “restoration” of the church, in 1866, probably with the idea that it would be more convenient to get into the second storey of the tower from the outside. Previous to this abominable innovation, and for say nearly eight hundred years, the floors of the tower were probably approached by ladders from the inside, as exist at the present day in the towers before described, with the exception of Bardfield Sailing, which has a similar staircase of the fifteenth century, but approached from the inside of the tower, the effect of this incongruous innovation being to destroy the beauty and outline of the tower.

As to the date or origin of this tower, one can only

say that it contains considerable traces of Norman work. Whether it existed prior to the Norman period, or was built for the purpose of forming part of a sacred edifice, it is impossible to say; not a particle of evidence in this particular tower exists, so far as I can find, to speculate upon beyond the Norman period. I might, however, state that the tower is on high land, being about 200 ft. above sea level, from the summit of which a considerable area of country can be seen, especially that Essex mountain of London clay, the Laindon Hills. Neither must it be lost sight of that the distance of the tower from the river Thames is only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The record Woken-don-ad-Turrim is evidence of the existence of a tower in early times.

Summing up the results of my investigations so far on the six round towers of Essex, I must say their origin is still vested in mystery, there being little direct evidence to prove that they existed prior to the Norman Conquest, while on the other hand there is evidence to prove the existence of round towers in Saxon times (see remarks in previous papers). With reference to the round towers of Suffolk and Norfolk, from the geographical position they occupy, which is chiefly along the banks and mouths of rivers and estuaries, it appears evident they were not built with any idea of forming part of sacred edifices, their function probably being as towers of security and defence from the piratical invasions which were of such frequent occurrence in the days of the East Anglians.

In conclusion, I have to express my thanks to all those who have assisted me in this research, and to the Rev. Julius Rowley, the rector of South Ockendon, and the Rev. W. Warren, the vicar of Little Sailing, for the kind assistance they have given me in pursuing this investigation in their respective churches.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE RECENT
EXCAVATIONS INTO THE TUMULI OF THE
TROAD,
AND OF THE
HISTORICAL ANTIQUITIES OF SAMOTHRACE
AND PERGAMOS.

BY DR. PHENÉ, V.P., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

(*Read 2nd February 1881.*)

IF there is a district made reverend by classic lore, which should be, perhaps is, more esteemed by the British people than any other, which is more fit for the consideration of the British archæologist than any other spot *out of Britain*, it is the *Plain of Troy*.

Setting aside that only a few years have passed since our fleet, the rendezvous for which was in Besika Bay, carried through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, to the Euxine, British besiegers, who re-enacted in the Crimea a siege like that of Troy, and with a similar result, the classic history of Homer has permeated our language, inspired our poetry, infused bravery and noble honour into the youths of countless generations, and has been the great feature which has prevented the past from becoming a dead past, as the Greek language is vulgarly but most inaptly called a *dead* language.

As the last explorer of this revered area I have had the advantage of comparing the operations of all previous explorers with their results. I have been able to probe all their feelings, to follow in their footsteps, to examine their excavations, to inspect the exhumed relics, to exult in their discoveries, and in some cases to pause with surprise and regret at their reports. Uninfused, for the most part, with the spirit of the Homeric muse itself; uninfluenced by the Anglicised, and therefore more familiar way of putting things rendered by a Pope, a Chapman, a Gladstone, or a Derby, many have set to work, I fear, as mere handlers of the spade and pick, *ὀρυκτῆρες*, anxious less to illuminate history than to produce *bric-à-*

brac. Often, in the repeated visits I have made to the Troad, have I found a once symmetrical tumulus reduced to a mass of tumbled earth,—reduced from the poetic picturesque by no niggardly expenditure of time and labour, the result of the research being reported by the explorer as barren of result; and yet from among that mass of heaped-up refuse I have extracted bronze ornaments, glass of the finest creation of the Sidonians, with less marked relics, but all illustrations of the history, customs, habits, and refinements of Trojans, Greeks, Phrygians, or Phœnicians.

How curtly even “Eothen”, on his traversing the Plain, dismisses the very gods, mentions the Greeks only to assume that they lavished curses on the divine landscape, and the Trojans not at all. He comments on Homer’s picture of Neptune viewing the siege from the summit of Samothrace, while I realised it by the ascension of the sky-piercing peak, saw the same landscape that the sea-god viewed, and from the very “watch-tower of Neptune”, and wandered amongst the remains that Diodorus records as established for exercising rites and mysteries. He condescends to mention Imbros and Tenedos. I traversed them both, and again and again the lateen sails of my laughing caique crested the bright waves as I sailed to and from them and the Asian shore. Realising the advent from the not distant Tenedos of the “spotted serpents” (vessels probably so named, like the Scandinavian “snake” and “dragon” Vikings’ galleys), and so bearing the priests of the Pythian Apollo to avenge an innovation in his worship by Laocoon.

He comments on the changed course of the Scamander, and wanders by its banks. I visited and revisited it, crossed it in a triangular boat, cared less for its courses, though interesting, than for its history, and saw in it a curious identity. Is there no mixing up the history of one people with the myths of another here? The siege of Scamander guarded Troy, and the encompassing of the Jordan guarded Jericho, with the fall of each on the completion of the allotted period. In each case there were concealed spies, the entrance of whom into either city caused its downfall.

Ilion was the first opposing city encountered on the

way to the glorious Ionian lands; Jericho to those of Canaan. In each case the assailants came from the west. Both passed through or over the sea; in each case from another continent, in each case speaking the same language as the assailed people, and at dates not far removed. In each case also a serpent or serpents became the emblems and messengers of wrath for offence.¹ The numbers nine and seven do not agree, but were both sacred with Asiatics, and so easily interchanged, while of course the Greek ships were inevitable.

How much symbolism has been lost by the ruthless users of the spade is seen by a reference to the view of the tumulus of New Grange, in Dr. Ledwick's *Antiquities of Ireland* (p. 43), where the two peaked summits of the mound exactly represent the single and triple-peaked summits on Chinese sepulchral tumuli having the special meaning of the rank of the deceased.

The system I have adopted has often proved of use when other means have failed. Over and over again, when an excavated tumulus has seemed to produce no results, careful washing of the soil has revealed white particles which, when placed under a microscope, were found to be bone, preserved only through its having been calcined, while minute discoloration proved the burning had taken place on the pyre.

My examination of the exhumations, as well of Mykenæ as of Troy, prior to the publication by Dr. Schliemann of his books on those places, the repeated interviews and meetings that we had, and his minute directions for my inspecting the excavations and localities, were of great use to me, though had he and others adopted my system of washing the earth at the several indicative parts of each mound, the relics I found would not have been left behind.

I propose to approach this subject by a few notes from my Diary, kept on my second visit to the district. I afterwards made a journey from the *south*, and took a course exactly opposite to that now outlined, with the double advantage of search, and after long comparison with other eastern districts and with Etruria, close *re*-search into its mysterious history and relics.

My object is to produce by description a slight effect

¹ Iliad, B. ii, The Fleet at Aulis.

of the interest that may awake in a traveller's bosom, that certainly sprang up in mine, as I trod these time-honoured shores, to the scenes and events on which the grandest poem ever written or recited bears testimony, and figures before us the heroic men and actions of the life of the old world, and the solemn scenes and rites with which they honoured those whose souls had departed for Hades, and, as they considered, to the realms of Pluto.

I was fortunate enough, on one or other of these occasions, to be introduced to those residents who took interest in antiquarian matters generally, and in the local ones in particular. Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann, Prof. Rhousopulos; Mr. Frank Calvert, the well-known explorer, Mr. Malins, the British Vice-Consul, who entertained me liberally and kindly, and who was well up in the antiquities of the English and Scottish border; Κύριος Nicolò Xantopulo, the Austrian Consul, who had similar tastes; and the Italian Consul at Tenedos, who further initiated me into the way of bringing a cask of the wine of that island, and one from the island of Samos, to my cellar in London.

Early on a fine April morning I left the Dardanelles by, and probably to follow the same route as, that taken by the first fugitive from Etruria, Dardanus. My reason for thinking this is that the first or nearest, and the last or most distant, place by this tour of the Troad bears his name.

The old, low, and uninteresting acropolis of Dardanus is the first object that meets the eye of the archæologist, and save that here and there *lie* fragments of terra-cotta and shattered marble, one would fancy it was an example of the old British fortresses so plentiful in England and Wales. The first feeling is that of disappointment that you have come so far to see what an hour's ride from London will let you see at home. Then associations begin to crop up. The Keltic tribes coming from the East, of course brought their customs and modes of defence with them, and the mind begins again to be inquisitive. The bright flowers about me and the fresh air, the prettily broken coast and the picturesque Greek villages, all gave separate and new interests; and as I went

into the populous Ren Kioi my eye fell on the ordinary cart of the country,—a lunette shape, of wicker-work, open at the rear, with a single axle, ponderous wheels, and a pole in lieu of shafts. I felt I saw the veritable chariot of the days of Trojan warfare, and that the type had never changed. I lunched at the house of my dragoman, who had named his son Hector. So now, with my mind once more in unison with the route, the road was resumed.

I had already bothered my dragoman by demanding the names of three tumuli as they were passed, but received the unsatisfactory answer in each case, that it was the *tepeh* of the locality, *tepeh* being equivalent to tumulus. Approaching Rhoèteum, three more tumuli caused me equally, and rather more vehemently, to demand their titles, but without result. These were called the Tepehs of Karanlik and Rhoèteum,—places, and not persons; but I took note of their being placed on the *summits* of the heights.

It was no slight feeling of disappointment that arose on having a low and insignificant, sea-broken heap pointed out as the tomb of Ajax, the first to which a name had been given; but it was consoling to be told that the hero's bones had been rescued from the waves, and placed above their reach, bringing to mind Dryden's rendering of a similar deposition of honoured remains:

“With groans and cries Misenus they deplore;

* * * *

But good Æneas order'd on the shore

A stately tomb; whose top a trumpet bore,

A soldier's falchion, and a seaman's oar.

Thus was his friend interr'd; and deathless fame

Still to the *lofty* Cape consigns his name.”

Strange accounts have come down to us of the finding the bones of Ajax. Pausanias and Philostratus both refer to the dimensions of these as being gigantic. Hadrian is said to have embraced and kissed them, and to have constructed the lofty tumulus named “In Tepeh” over them.

Two points are noticeable here: 1st, that the unnamed tumuli, which may, therefore, be reasonably assigned to native chiefs, not necessarily actors in the Trojan war, are on *heights*, while that of the Grecian Ajax, before re-

moval, was, as is the case with the others attributed to the Greeks, on the sea-shore, the appositeness of which will be at once apparent, the low and the coast-land alone being in the hands of the Greeks.

Going over the Plain, the eye is arrested by what, if never seen before, becomes remarkable. Long strings of camels tied head and tail to each other, bearing merchandise, and often preceded by a small donkey, forming the seat for the camel-driver,—a misnomer, as he precedes and literally drags the camels along by the aid of his diminutive beast of burden ; which is selected for its easier movements, the motion of the camel being most disquieting. The driver never troubles himself about his charge, as to those camels forming the two ends of the string are attached bells of different notes (sometimes there are more than two), and the bells make a slight peal which, as the wind wafts it from a distance, recalls Tennyson's Enoch Arden hearing "Far and far away the pealing of his parish bells" while in the tropical island. When to this is added, especially if heard for the first time, the very mournful cry of the young camel, and the terribly disagreeable one of its dam, a wanderer in the lonely and deserted plains might well fancy them still haunted by the spirits of departed heroes moaning away their ebbing lives, and roaring out their guttural cries of victory.

A district of rich brushwood and ilex, terminated by copses of valónea oak, brings the wayfarer to some rising ground, and the mountain islands of Imbros and Samothrace rise above the horizon to the right, while straight in front, he who goes for the first time feels sure he sees a remarkable tumulus. It is, however, the conical height of the Island of Tenedos.

As time will not permit a recurrence to the scenery of the Troad, I may state here that its suburbs abound in magnificent *oak* trees, equal in beauty and dimension to those of an English park, as the cups of the valónea acorn, which I exhibit, testify, while the short mountain-holly is decorated, not with natural red berries, but on its *leaves* it bears the larvæ-house of an insect equally bright, the "prinoukokkos", used extensively by the Phœnicians in their dyes, the trade in which to the north of Africa has

never ceased, and with which the fez in Morocco is dyed at the present day.

At Rhoèteum a message arrived that Mr. Calvert's house was closed (rather an advantage), as it was better "to do at" Troy "as" Trojans "do", and to see their ways.

The ascent to the summit of Hissarlik is so slight, from the north-east, that it was an almost instantaneous effect which revealed the great Trojan Plains skirted by the tumuli in sharp outline against the sky, soon after which the snowy peaks of Ida appeared towards the south.

The revelations of the unearthed city of Dr. Schliemann's Troy of course engrossed some days, and it was only by small degrees and slow that the other wonders around began to be understood. It is useless to hurry straight into cuttings of material, and suggestions of facts, in what involved many days' careful inspection, constant reference to authorities, and deep meditation, to arrive at any conclusion upon. The area to be traversed is many hours in extent (for they count there by the hour, and not by the mile), the subject so imposing, the rushes of thoughts so various, as to be almost indescribable; while the mental ruts of former thinkers are so deep and well defined that it is difficult indeed to escape and gain freedom of thought.

It was not till I had carefully inspected the vast and multitudinous tumuli near Sardis in Lydia, and had again returned and revisited the Troad, coming down upon it from Mount Ida, whence, as I approached from Alexandria Troas, it was mapped before me as had then lately been the Gygean Plain of Sardis from the Acropolis where Cræsus reigned, that after careful inspection I came to a conclusion different from any that have been put forward as to the localisation of the places comprised in the Trojan area. Nor even then, perhaps, should I have done so had I not had a sight of the Troad such as probably no other living man has had; for the native shepherds, only one or two of whom have accomplished the ascent of Samothracia, know nothing of Troy or its history, and consequently view with unseeing eyes that which would have been quite meaningless to myself had I not closely examined the whole district before I made the ascent to the "Seat of Neptune", as Homer calls it,

on the summit of Samothrace, from whence every spot I had surveyed minutely was mapped out before me with greater accuracy than any ever shown in an Ordnance Survey Map. I say than any other living man, for the natives told me none but a few of their own shepherds had made the ascent within the memory of the inhabitants, though in ancient times there was a ceremony performed at a considerable height, as Diodorus tells us it was practised in his day, and therefore the partial ascent at least must then have been made by some. Homer must have been up, or conversed with one who had, or he could never have realised the effects. I propose to give the particulars of those observations after mentioning the results of recent excavations into the tumuli.

The indefatigable exertions of Dr. Schliemann in unravelling the mysteries of the inhumed relics of the Troad are beyond all praise. Nevertheless the mind is free to think upon his thoughts as well as on the facts he has laid before us; and unremitting as his labour has been, to examine if there be any, and if so what, points that require further consideration. I will pursue my subject in the order he has followed, that my course may be the more clear.

In Tepeh, the tumulus of Ajax, has not been investigated, nor is it worth while, as this we know was erected by Hadrian. Dr. Schliemann, however, made a cutting into the original mound, from which Hadrian is said to have conveyed the remains of the Greek hero to *In Tepeh*. The result was simply the uncovering of some "pebbles and horse-bones".

Tumulus of Achilles. — This tumulus has not been examined by Dr. Schliemann. Choiseul-Gouffier had it explored in 1786, when he was Ambassador from the Court of France to the Sublime Porte. The shaft sunk from the top reached the virgin soil at 29 ft.; but as, even in its dilapidated condition, the height of the mound was nearly that at the date of my visit, it seems clear that this as well as most of the other tumuli of the Troad were formed on *already existing natural mounds*, of which there are many in the district. And this explains an apparent failure of Dr. Schliemann's in the Demetrius Tepeh, to be noticed further on. The French

Ambassador was not present himself, and the account given by his agent being generally discredited, I shall not trouble you with a list of the articles said to have been found. It is unfortunate that Dr. Schliemann did not obtain permission to excavate the mound, because, first, his excavations of this class have been very barren in result ; and next, this seems the tumulus that ancient writers appear most clearly to identify ; while my friend Dr. Beddoe, F.R.S., has informed me that he had personally exhumed from it a *female tibia* and other bones, which, if the mound could be traced to Achilles, would either show subsequent inhumation or the custom of slaughter of a favourite, slave, or captive, as carried out by Achilles in the case of the twelve Trojan princes whom he slew to accompany the slain Patroclus to Hades.

One thing in the Report of Choiseul-Gouffier's agent could, however, have been hardly worth inventing, and seems to me to prove a certain amount of genuineness in some of his other statements, viz., the different strata of soils forming the tumulus. These appear to me studied, and not accidental, as well as indicative of the tumulus not having been before ransacked in search of treasure. The upper part consisted of "*well beaten clay*, 6 ft. thick", and under this a compact layer of stones and clay, 2 ft. thick, then a stratum of earth and sand mixed, and last a covering of *very fine sand*.

Many of these tumuli have cavities near them, whence apparently the material has been brought, and consequently the different strata may, *prima facie*, be supposed to be simply a reversed order of the strata of the excavation from which the material was obtained. But it is not necessarily so. For instance, Dr. Schliemann corrects, by a quotation under-mentioned, the statement by Forchhammer, who, probably judging from the apparently artificial pit found near each of the tumuli on the heights of Bali Dag, states that the materials for these tumuli are all derived from the natural rock on which they stand, whereas, says Mr. Frank Calvert (who closely examined them, and the correctness of whose assertion I can support), *only one of them is entirely so constructed*. This being so brings us face to face with a beautiful and striking custom of antiquity exemplified by

very many disinterments in the East, and of which I have found interesting examples in the British Islands,—that of covering the place for depositing the dead, and afterwards the body of the dead, in the first instance, with a layer of fine, pure material, unsullied by earth or organic matter; and very often supplementing the first by a fine layer of pure, white pebbles as a carpet to the tomb, as illustrated in my diagram of the section of a tumulus on the Earl of Glasgow's estate in the larger of the two Cumbraes in the Clyde.

Dr. Schliemann describes such a layer in each of the deep rock-cut tombs at Mykenæ, but falls into the error of supposing they were placed there to help the ventilation of the funeral pyre. The pebbles of that locality are from the beautiful limestone conglomerate of which the masonry is composed. Many are quartz, like those in the Cumbraes; and of course the object would be a debatable question (although certainly no fire had been used in the Cumbrae Tumulus), did not Dr. Schliemann, further on, show the intention of *purity*, which I advance, as he states in his description of the third sepulchre he opened (p. 165 of *Mycenæ and Tiryns*) that "*this layer of pebbles had been strewn all over with plates of gold*". These being flat would *impede* the ventilation. He also states that the wood-ashes from the burning were found *on* and *around* the bodies, but the plates of gold and pebbles *beneath* them. The plates of gold, he says, must have been placed there *before* the bodies were deposited, which were afterwards also strewn with gold plates.¹

This statement, as I have already pointed out, seems to establish the authenticity of some part of the Report of the excavator of the tumulus of Achilles, while the rude clay vessels and the painted terra-cotta are quite near enough to those found by Dr. Schliemann himself to agree with the description by a person who had not the advantages of comparison that now exist.

The agent may be thought to have overdone the matter by the *iron sword* and the bronze chariot and horses which he said he found; though as to the latter, this bronze horse from the Argolic Plain shows it not impossible; and the red appearances on this might lead to the

¹ This custom was wide-spread in Etruria.

supposition, if in large quantities, of its being iron. Some of the bronze weapons found by Dr. Schliemann crumbled away on being touched, of which I have here the fragments ; so that if he had no sword to produce, and there had been this red appearance, he might honestly have thought it was iron.

But Dr. Schliemann himself found in one of the mounds an iron knife and Roman potsherds. If the latter came there in the manner I further on suggest as possible, the iron sword might have been found by the Ambassador's agent, without inventing the story, as has been supposed.

Dr. Schliemann then mentions a tumulus at Ren Kioi, one of those I first referred to, as being opened by Mr. Frederick Calvert, but with no result.

Then the Tumulus of Priam, opened by Mr. Frank Calvert, within which was a square tower about 14 ft. by 12 ft., and, when he examined it, about 13 ft. in height. It is curious that both Mr. Calvert and Dr. Hunt, whom he quotes, conclude from this that it was not sepulchral, while it thus carries the features of the oldest constructed sepulchres, after those of Egypt, that we have examples of, viz., the Etruscan. The masonry was rude, hewn on the outside only, and constructed without mortar or cement,—all features of early Etruscan work. The interior was filled in with loose, small stones. I can imagine nothing more calculated to effect rapid decay of bones, than, from the time of the top being destroyed, the open access to the atmosphere through these loose stones, and the alternate well of water in which such would be placed by the rain falling on the loose stones within the tower, and being dammed up from exit by the external coating of earth and stones Mr. Calvert describes. He refers to casual potsherds being found in it ; but things that would have been worthless (rude clay objects once) would, since the wonderful rude clay pottery discovered by Dr. Schliemann, be differently estimated. I examined the disturbed remains, and do not consider them otherwise than deeply interesting. My impression is that the loose stones have fallen, and been thrown into the cavity of the tower, at its reduction from the original height, and for ages since ; and that it was rifled of its contents, which I have no doubt were sepul-

chral, at the time of the demolition of the upper part.

The Tumulus of Patroclus was also excavated by Mr. Frank Calvert, but without result. Of the Tumulus of Patroclus, Homer (says Dr. Schliemann) states that "they traced out the circle for the tumulus, and encompassed it with *foundation stones*", and therefore, he continues, they expected to find at least one circle of *stones*; but "*θεμελίά τε προβάλλοντο*", though it may *imply* stones, strictly, I believe, only amounts to *laid the foundations*, and for a mound of earth the foundations need not necessarily be of stone. It appears to me only equivalent to laying the base for the tumulus, the area of which they had already traced or rounded out; that is, drawn a circle for. This accords more with Chapman's expression,

"The platform then about the pile they laid
Of his fit sepulchre, and raised a heap of earth".

There was no result to *this* excavation.

The Tumulus of Hector, opened by Sir John Lubbock in 1872, was one of the four on the heights of Bali Dagħ, and was found to be formed entirely of small stones; neither bones nor charcoal were found, nor (says Dr. Schliemann) were there any traces of this tumulus being a funeral mound.

I do not know if Sir John Lubbock published an account of the examination of this mound, but I was told on the spot that he did find an urn, and that he *considered* it to be Roman. But rude pottery, not Greek or Etruscan in character, would, before the extraordinary exhibition of pottery from this locality by Dr. Schliemann, probably have been supposed to be Roman, but might now be thought otherwise.

The Pasha Tepeh was opened in 1873 by Mrs. Schliemann. Dr. Schliemann identifies this with the tomb Strabo considered to be that of *Æsyetes*, which Homer refers to, but does not agree that it is so. Dr. Schliemann considers, with, I think, great probability, that it is the Tumulus of *Myriné*, mentioned by Homer. All things point to its being so. But the Doctor quotes Professor Sayce to the effect that it derives its title from *Smyrna*, one of the names of *Artemis*, *Cybele*; but in

my opinion it was dedicated to Apollo, one of whose titles was Myrinus,¹ he being tutelary deity of Myriné.

Dr. Schliemann says "no ashes or charcoal were found, much less the bones of a burnt corpse". He considers that the archaic nature of the pottery proves the great antiquity of the tumulus, at least previous to the time of Homer. Would not this give ample time for the complete disappearance of all human remains? The light brushwood of the district burns so fiercely as to consume all contents of articles placed in it, but leaves hardly any remains of carbon. It burns to a light ash, which the first breeze drives away.²

The only result in this case was some archaic pottery which Dr. Schliemann identifies as of great antiquity, *older than the date of the tumulus*, and supposes that, lying on the surface when the tumulus was formed, the fragments were heaped up with the soil.

Tumulus of Ujek Tepek.—This is a vast mound which arrests attention from all parts of the Trojan Plains, and here Dr. Schliemann has found a most remarkable interior. The Greek Christians have for ages looked on it as the tomb of the prophet Elias, which Dr. Schliemann suggests may have arisen from some phonic similarity between Ilus and Elias, but which seems to me capable of a more direct explanation. In the first place it is the most lofty of the tumuli, and the Greeks are in the habit of calling the most lofty conical hill in any locality "Hagios Elias"; and on inquiry in many cases an ancient altar to Apollo is found recorded in the traditions. Dr. Schliemann himself, in his book on Mykenæ, admits that Elias has taken the place of 'Héλιος,³ the sun-god, though he says, strangely enough, it can have no connection with 'Héλιος, the Greek god, though he writes them exactly in the same manner. Of course the Hebrew and Greek words have no connection.

My impression is that it is one and the same. Nothing would be more consonant with Oriental metaphor than

¹ The question has since been worked out by Dr. Phené in his article on "Symbolical Mounds and Constructions simulating the Forms of Animals", in the Number of this *Journal* for June 1889, vol. xlv, pt. 2.

² In the late accident to the Scotch Express, the remains of Miss MacCulloch consisted of so slight a deposit of ashes, that but for her disappearance they could hardly have been considered human remains.

³ Poetic for "Héλιος.

devoting the pagan altars of 'H  lios, or Ph  ebus, to one taken up in chariots of fire ; and the Turkish name of this mound agrees exactly with the idea, Ujek, being by the fire. On the summit of this mound the Greek Christians have for ages burned fires to Elias, on the 1st of August, which is the day of his *fe  ta*. Dr. Schliemann states that, in digging, the ashes of such fires were found, over 2 ft. in depth, but he does not mention another very interesting ceremony which takes place at the same time, viz., the sacrifice of the chanticleer, a bird sacred to Apollo and also to his son,   sculapius, and generally associated with the serpent in each case. Of this ceremony I was distinctly informed by several inhabitants of the district.

The whole of the very interesting results of Dr. Schliemann's excavations in this tumulus are summed up in the representation before you on my diagrams.

Here Dr. Schliemann found Roman potsherds and an *iron knife*. Dr. Schliemann considers that the presence of Roman potsherds proves the tower to be Roman. It may be Roman ; but surely Roman work speaks for itself as much as the older polygonal work indicates its date. But if the tower is not Roman, the potsherds will not make it so. Romans visited here, and such an object as this great mound could not have escaped them, nor were their engineers less skilful than Dr. Schliemann's.

The Roman potsherds and the iron knife were in the cavity of the *masonry*, which was, no doubt, opened by the Romans. If, as is probable, the tumulus was *adopted* for Festus by Caracalla, his interment would, no doubt, have been in the stone chamber of antiquity, which may then have been thought to be the tomb of Patroclus.

Assuming (the galleries now being open) that a willow-pattern plate, or a moulded bottle of Schweppe's soda-water, gets into them before they are filled in, or a hundred such examples, will that prove the structure to be Victorian ?

Dr. Schliemann gives some very interesting quotations as to the Etruscan monuments in the Appian Way and at Sardis ; but after having done so says this construction, which is *like* them, *cannot* be *of* that class. It may be he is right in saying that it *is* not ; but the evidence

of the potsherds (the only evidence given) is not conclusive. Nor do I think Roman masonry would be found jointed with clay instead of mortar; still less so when, as Dr. Schliemann suggests, a monument of unusual importance was to be erected, and limestone for mortar being in the district.

Tumulus of Besika Tepeh.—This tumulus, opened by Dr. Schliemann, has resulted in the proof of the great date of the tumuli which the Dr. seems in other cases to have ignored. The evidence here is satisfactory, in the form of very rude pottery unlike any found at Hissarlik, and unlike any generally known. Very strong, very rude, not made for suspension, the bottoms flat, and worked hastily on straw, and with two slight exceptions hand-made; decoration scarce, and then monotonous. As this would be the situation occupied by the Greeks, near their fleet, it appears to me this pottery was hastily made by them purely for local and immediate use. Their low forms, flat bases, etc., indicate the condition they must have been in in siege and counter-siege; and the rough handiwork necessary for cooking utensils wanted for the nonce, and never intended to be kept or taken away; but suited, from their size and shape, broad, flat basons, 3 ft. high, for mess-pans for their watchful meals.

The two finer, wheel-made vases were probably brought with them. One grand point in favour of this is that the pottery has no resemblance to the native pottery of the locality of *any* date; and though hundreds of fragments of one particular class of this pottery alone were found merely in the shaft and galleries, the painting on which was equally impromptu, being rudely done in a simple pigment of black clay, in face of this *great quantity of pottery*, not a single spindle-whorl was found, nor any other domestic objects so common in the neighbourhood. And yet Dr. Schliemann suggests here was a town of a special people. If so, apparently without women.

But the tumulus was in a sense a kitchen-midden of the Greeks. In it were the bones of animals and many oyster-shells; and this tumulus in particular has no tradition, fabulous or historic, identifying it with the heroic dead. It seems to me the place where, at the moment of conquest, their rough makeshifts were consigned, as

no more necessary, when the Trojan spoil fell into their hands.

Hagios Demetrios Tepeh.—Explored also by Dr. Schliemann without any discovery. It is a natural mound of limestone-rock covered to a depth of 5 ft. with soil. He found no sepulchres, but it was deep enough to bury in certainly, and the length of time would hardly leave human remains. But he reports *this* tumulus, that of *Ujek Tepeh*, and others, to be either natural hills or based on natural hills; and here, as at Ujek Tepeh, the inhabitants have from time immemorial come to light fires and to sacrifice.

Dr. Schliemann seems to think his researches here were unsuccessful, but I do not. This was clearly a specially sacred place from remote times, and the material of the tumulus has, in my opinion, been removed by one or other of the conquering nations which held it; and the shrine of Demeter, and the horned terra-cotta serpents found at Hissarlik, indicate the worship, which would have been not unlike that at Ujek Tepeh. At each of these tumuli still exist sacred shrines. The temple to Demeter was not improbably founded on the relics taken from the mound ages ago. Dr. Schliemann discredits the tumuli near Akshi Kioi because he found natural soil, as he does that of Demetrios Tepeh; but to my mind the latter explains their reduced condition. Dr. Schliemann conjectures, and I think rightly, that this tumulus was appropriated to St. Demetrius because of the appositeness of the name from Demeter; just as I have suggested 'Hélîos was adapted to Élias.

The Tomb of Ilus.—Levelled to a great extent for its rich soil, it being near arable land. A mere depression at the centre indicated the hand of the robber or archæologist; but on digging down, the same evidence I have referred to in the case of the Tumulus of Achilles appeared. Beneath a layer of stones and *débris* was found a thick stratum of *fine river-sand* within the area of the tumulus, covering, to the depth of several feet, the compact, brown clay of the Plain. This, I take it, was the foundation for a tumulus of earth, as in the case of Homer's description of the Tumulus of Patroclus.

The polygonal work of Ujek Tepeh takes us back, as

admitted in Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*, to a date considerably earlier than our era, though it is pronounced to be not earlier than the time of Alexander. I hardly think upon sufficient consideration, because, as to the polygons, of which the masonry is composed, and which, as stated in *Ilios*, form the reason for the assumption, they are so similar to those in parts of the walls of Mykenæ, that they may certainly belong to an earlier date.

But apart from this, they are found to enclose the summit of a natural elevation evidently rendered sacred by rites ; which rites appear to have been carried on uninterruptedly to the present day, and even under the Greek Church appear to be the same as those performed to Apollo and Æsculapius. There can be little doubt to which of these deities in this case, as many classical writers assert that Apollo was worshipped in the closely adjoining island of Tenedos with very marked reverence. Tenedos is not only close to, but just under the eye at this spot. And if we may assume that the two serpents which came from Tenedos to chastise Laocoon and his sons were rather the priests of the sacred serpents kept there, coming in their official barges as described in p.312, it would at once account for their meeting no opposition from the warlike Trojans, who had enough on their hands without insulting the great deity of the Greeks, and it would give less improbability to the account. In corroboration of this we find one at least of these serpents is represented by the Latin poets as bearing a man's name, Porca. While, as the Greek fleet used Tenedos as a cover, when lying in wait, hidden by the island, it would be a part of the Greek stratagem ; and tend further to secure the sacredness of the great emblem of the chariot of the sun, which was supposed to be under the guidance of Apollo, and which the horse would represent.

That such natural elevations became sacred from their being selected as natural altars, is not only abundantly testified in many classical localities, but we have here two examples in the same district still so used, Ujek Tepeh and Demetrios Tepeh ; and from this fact I think, as it is shown many of these tumuli are based on such summits, that the natural mound became the natural

heap of the pyre, and a pile of brushwood (always at hand there, and even in its green state burning at once, being highly inflammable) would soon consume the body, and being green, and with no twigs of any thickness, would leave only an ash, and not charcoal behind it. I lighted an enormous fire on a promontory in Mytelené one night, to attract the captain of my yacht, who, as I had not returned at the appointed hour, supposed I had stayed in the town, and left word that he had sailed round to find me there. It was all green brushwood. The pile could not have been less than 10 ft. high, and when it was burned out it left little more behind it than if it had been formed of hay; and what was left, the first wind would have blown away.

The thin layer of black earth mentioned in p. 661 of *Ilios* as being found covering the original mound over which Ujek Tepeh had been formed, and which lay between a thin layer of white clay above it, and a layer of brown clay below it, appears to me another example of the arrangements of earth; the white clay beneath the burning being disfigured and browned by it, and by the staining effect of rains draining into it; and the white clay placed *over* the remains after burning, as a sign of purity, not being affected by the burning: a custom practised by the Keltic and other people in the use of the white stone, generally quartz, which was placed in their tombs and funereal urns, and also by layers of fine, white sand and clay.

It appears to me this may have been the tomb of Æsyetes, whence the communication between Tenedos and the land could be more perfectly observed, and commanding the approach to both Besika Bay and Youkyeri Bay, as now named, and as the communication with Tenedos by the Greek fleet shows that it must have been stationed here.

This thin layer of black earth is, I think, an indication of such a burning as the local brushwood would produce, and suggests Æsyetes' remains, over which rites were still celebrated.

It is by no means improbable that even prior to the polygonal structure, or even surmounting it, if it is of greater antiquity than Macedonian, a lofty pharos ex-

isted to cast light along what must have been a coast of great commercial importance. This semicircular, polygonal structure resembles one on the Star Mountain in Anatolia, lately examined by me.

Should the structure turn out to be, as it seems to me it possibly may, Etruscan, we should then have an indication of the site of the ancient city of Dardania, on which I think it most probable Ilium stood, and which would bring us again to the old classical site on the hill now called Bali Dagħ, which Xerxes ascended to review his army on his way to Greece. Dardanus, as mentioned in the commencement of this paper, came from Etruria a fugitive after the slaughter of his brother Jasius, by whose death he hoped to obtain the kingdom, and any trace of Etruscan work should be carefully dealt with. The tower in Ujek Tepeh may be a restoration, or, preserved by the covering mound it may be original Etruscan; but in any case the idea and plan so closely agree with the Etruscan remains on the Appian Way, and the condition of the asserted tomb of Alyattes, near Sardis, all of which I have closely inspected, that it is probable this and the so-called Tumulus of Priam contain Etruscan remains.

With these points before me, and with the repeated surveys I have made, I have been led to the conclusion that the topography of the Troad embraced a large area; and that as from its position it was a city of unusual commercial importance, it would have required all the adjuncts which other great cities, not requiring them so much, had in a marked degree. Of which observations I give the following slight sketch.

The different view I take of the topography of the Troad, which I have proposed to explain, arises from a careful inspection of those parts which have so far attracted little attention.

In treating of Troy all writers, ancient and modern, have omitted attention to its geographical position for *commercial purposes*; a point which, on examination, clears up and reconciles much conflicting testimony and difference of opinion.

In making a careful examination of the district of the Troad, on several repeated visits, I encountered a number of evidences of earthworks which, apparently too insigni-

ficant to merit attention from former explorers, were to me, from their relative positions, explanatory of a difficulty I had long felt in the topography of the district. These divided themselves into two classes, viz., remains of what appeared to me a fortified earthwork, and remains of a line of ancient Trojan tumuli.

In the map which I have prepared to explain my meaning, it will be seen that the Scamander has changed its course. Along the line of the former stream there are irregularities, which of course may be only the result of proximity to the ancient river, though it appears to me much more probable that the Trojans would increase their natural defence of this river-boundary, which must have become the frontier between them and the besieging Greeks, by erecting an earthwork on their own side, from which they could command the river with missiles, and to which may be attributed the long duration of the war.

That such was the common mode of defence in those times is clear from Homer's description of the one constructed by the Greeks to guard their ships; *i.e.*, a breastwork of stones protected by a ditch guarded with palisades. He places the ditch outside the breastwork. The latter was of stones and earth mixed, as seen in the Trojan attack. The defence is described in B. 7, v. 440; and Herodotus describes a similar defence erected by the Persians to guard their naval station at Mycalé (B. 9, c. 97).

There is a general disposition to see in Troy a city defended by lofty walls; but Hector upbraids Paris with the statement, that on the bodies of the slain the walls are overlooked. The Scæan towers were, no doubt, lofty; but judging from Dardanus and other former sites in the Troad, the general defences were more like our British earthworks; and it is of just such an earthwork that there are, it appears to me, indications along the river-route which led to what we now call Bounarbashi; and along which route are to be traced the remains of the tumuli I have described.

If this be so, a great number of conflicting elements are reconciled. Hissarlik becomes the great commercial quarter, or, indeed, discharging port of Troy; Bounarbashi its lofty citadel; and the Scæan gates would have

occupied the exact position of the gate and Cyclopean bridge leading from the Plain of Argos to Mykenæ. The latter being the royal Argolic retreat, is found to have an almost exact distance with that I have shown on the map between the citadel and mart of Troy. And in the Argolic Plain are tumuli which agree with those of which some remain intact within the earthen fortification I have described, and therefore within the natural frontier of the Scamander.

A difficulty that occurs at a *prima facie* view disappears on inspection. If the Bounarbashi remains are those of the towers of Ilium, how is it, as they have in no way been damaged, that they do not answer to the term *lofty*? I examined these very narrowly on repeated visits, and only understood them after a journey to similar remains at Mantinea in Arcadia. In each case the walls are very strong, and in each case uninjured, and in each case equally low. Pausanias tells us that the latter were surmounted by unburnt bricks, and the city taken by turning the river Ophis against it.

In each case of destruction, then, the superior mass would fall on, cover up, and preserve these lower walls, as has been the case to this day, while the structures above them might have been lofty erections. The sundried bricks at Thymbria, close by, support this view. If the question arises, Why did not Homer mention such a defence if it existed? it seems to me that if it existed previously to the siege (in short, as part of the original defences) he would not specify it, as he did the defence made by the Greeks during the war, to protect the invading fleet; and as it was probably only secondary to the natural defence of the river, his attention would have been fixed on that, which seems to have been the point of attack and defence. But that he indirectly does refer to such a line (if I may so term it) of defence, I think, is clear from his giving the same descriptive expression to Troy that he does to Mykenæ. He refers to Troy as *Troien eribolaka*¹ (fertile-soiled), which must mean something outside the city; and then uses a term in common for Mykenæ and Troy, viz., *euruaguian*² (broadwayed), or, as Chapman renders it, "broad highways";

¹ B. 3, v. 74.

² B. 2, v. 12, and 66; B. 4, v. 52.

which, as in the one case it must have referred to the guarded roads over the Argolic Plain, from Argos and Tiryns to Mykenæ (the city itself not being capable of that description), must, it appears to me, have in the same manner applied to the guarded way between the citadel, or Troy proper, and its mart or bourg, now His-sarlik.

It seems, indeed, impossible to except Troy from the usual arrangements of those days. As Mykenæ had its broad-ways from Argos and Tiryns, Athens had its long guard-walls, or guarded ways, also. Homer applies the same term to several cities; and ancient Rome had its similar ways to Ostia. While, apparently, a city older than all, of which I have been the first describer, viz., the great Cyclopean city in Samothrace, as shown from my drawings published in *The Builder*,¹ had the same.

Pausanias points out the custom of placing a bridge at the junction of streams, thus enabling passengers to reach three territories by one bridge. Such a bridge in Mes-senia, described by him, still exists, and even portions of the old structure can still be traced. The place is called by Pausanias, Carnasium, and was sacred to the Pythian Apollo. Though not marked in any map, nor referred to in any guide-book, I was fortunate enough to find a Greek schoolmaster who knew it, and who always carried in one pocket a Greek Testament, and in another a copy of this historian, and we visited it together. Such a bridge would, at the position I have assumed for the Scæan gates on the map exhibited, have answered the same purpose at the junction of the two rivers beneath Bali Dagħ.

As to the tumuli, those still existing on the outside frontier of the Scamander, are, and always have been, ascribed to the Greeks, while those within the boundary I have described (at least those within the Scæan gates) are, and always have been, attributed to the Trojans. Assuming a Cyclopean bridge where I have described it, and as it exists still at Mykenæ, the Ilian towers would have been doubly guarded, and the Scæan gate have been a part of, and have been in connection with, such bridge. There are, it seems to me, remains of this; and it would,

¹ March 31, June 16, July 21, Aug. 4, 18, 1887; April 12, 1879; March 13, 1880.

I assume, be through this guard, and not towards Hissarlik, that the wooden horse would be received, otherwise the Ilian towers would have still been secure from attack.

That the earliest nations, as the Etrurians, followed by the Romans and Corinthians, placed their dead along their great ways of communication, seems established, and the line of heights along the course I have supposed has still existing tumuli. Those near Bounarbashi have lately been opened, one by Sir John Lubbock, and one by Mr. Borlase, while the other end of the line is marked by a great tumulus near Hissarlik; and it seems to me, on survey, by the remains of many others along the same route. The great tumulus of Ujek Tepeh, admittedly Trojan, is within the defended boundary, but guarded by the Simois from where it joins the Scamander.

By this means of defence ample accommodation for the forces of the allies could be had, the land tilled, and the siege prolonged indefinitely. Hissarlik, then a great commercial mart for the interchange of the produce of the Caspian and Black Seas, on the one hand, with the traders from Syria and Egypt, which countries would appropriate and traffic in the produce of India and the Erythræan Sea, on the other, was, from its geographical position, necessarily a mart of the greatest importance, and probably, like Ephesus, had its great temple, and doubtless its royal palace at a distance. And independently of the testimony of ages, no place was so suited for these as the magnificent site on the heights of Bali Dagħ; reconciling the statement of Troy being on the spurs of Mount Ida, and giving that sanctity of retirement always claimed by oriental monarchs. The vast jars for oil and wine, discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, support this view. The position of the Scæan gate would also be to the left of the attacking force when facing Ilium, so far according with its name.

I have pointed out that, viewing the matter in this way, every diversity of scholarly argument would be brought into unison, and Troy no longer isolated as to its customs and topography, no longer rendered mythical by the improbable story of a walled town resisting an attack for ten years, would be shown to assimilate to other

places of importance of its own age, and to have been able to endeavour to tire out the Greeks by a leisurely defence, while the latter had sea-room for reinforcements and supplies.

Having carefully explored the coast and district of Mysia on my road from the south to Pergamos, in my delightful tour to the Seven Churches of Asia and the Isle of Patmos, I was anxious to complete this survey by taking the northern portion by the Caicus, and so took advantage of having my yacht to cross the estuary, and to make an easier approach to Adramyttium, my chief object being to approach Pergamos from the north. I had searched and researched all the districts of the Cabiri so far; but as this must have been their route from Samothrace, and no doubt *vid* Ilium, and as the name Dardanus runs from Troy to Ida on the road, I was anxious to see my way to this also.

This being accomplished, these remarkable remains were again found teeming with interest. Having previously described them, with illustrations, in *The Builder*,¹ I dwell here only on the extraordinary and multitudinous representations of the sculptured serpents. No author appears to have found a satisfactory explanation for the expression, “ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ” (where was the throne of Satan). But this alone is sufficient. That these decorative devices of the contest between the pagan gods and demons or serpents were merely accessory to the worship of the Pythian Apollo and his son Æsculapius, under the form of their joint emblem, a dragon or python, is clear, and carries with it a curious symbolical feature indicative of the man-healer being antagonistic, *i.e.*, equal, and in some cases even superior, to Zeus the supreme. This is evidenced by a well-known Pergamene inscription in which Zeus, Athenè, Dionysus, and Æsclepius, stand in co-ordinate rank. So that, taking the serpent as the emblem of evil, which the writer of the above sentence evidently considered it, it is clear that in his eyes the evil deity was exalted (enthroned) with, and on an equality with, the pagan representative of the supreme Deity. A position which would receive, in the deeply

¹ June 16, 1877, etc., *supra*.

moral mind of the writer, strong additional accretion from the gross licentiousness of the so-called religious rites practised there in the richly watered groves of unparalleled beauty which adorned the Attalic capital. Here the Cabiri are said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus, whose worship, elsewhere pure, was in this place defiled by identifying him as the sensuous father of all things living.

But there is still another feature that has escaped attention. The vast hill, on the highest point of which the Acropolis stands, is in itself in the form of a huge dragon. The appearance of this hill has been commented on by ancient writers; but its appearance, though not specifically described, led to its being selected for the artistic representation of the Γυγαντομαχία, or War of the Giants, whose allies, the serpents, are vigorously figured. There can be little doubt that it was so selected from its own natural serpentine form, the sinuosities of which formerly, like those above the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and leading to a similar sacred summit, formed the winding processional route to the temples on the height.

This great hill of rock has since been split by an earthquake into two portions, across the body of the serpentine form, so that no ascent can be made by the former approach. It was no slight satisfaction to me to have been the first to notice the importance of the sculptured serpents. As long back as 1877 I drew the attention of the Greek schoolmaster to the quantities of them lying among the ruins within the Acropolis, and, but that my yacht was even then dangerously loaded with sculptured marble, I should have brought some to England with me.

CORRIGENDUM.

P. 332, line 1 of footnote, *for* 1887 *read* 1878.

AN OGAM STONE AT LEWANNICK, CORNWALL.

BY ARTHUR G. LANGDON, ESQ.

(*Read 16 Nov. 1892.*)

It has always been a matter of some surprise that no monument bearing an Ogam inscription has hitherto been found in Cornwall, as in the adjoining county of Devon two have been discovered: viz., one from Fardel, now in the British Museum; and another from Buckland Monachorum, now at Tavistock.¹ I am, therefore, extremely glad to be able to report the discovery of such a stone on 7th June last in the churchyard of Lewannick. This place is situated about five miles south-west of Launceston. The stone stands on the south side of the churchyard, near a large tree. No doubt the readers of this *Journal* will recollect that the church was destroyed by fire on 11th of January 1890, and although, since its rebuilding, it has been visited by numbers of people, it is remarkable that no person has observed the characters on this stone. Even the old sexton informed me that he had never heard that it had attracted the notice of any one.

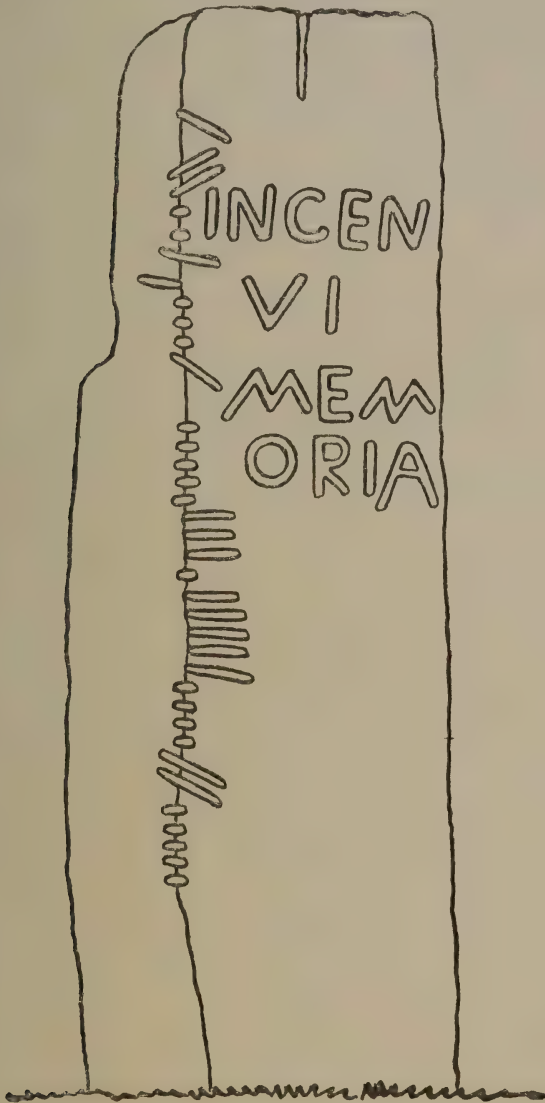
The stone is a rectangular block of granite, apparently deeply buried. The front is curved slightly inwards from top to bottom, and a portion of the back is split off in a similar manner to the "Other Half Stone" at St. Cleer.² There is also a vertical fracture at the top.

With the assistance of the sexton and a friend who accompanied me, I dug out the earth to a depth of 18 in. (a matter of some difficulty, owing to the roots of the tree), but no further traces of Ogams were found lower than about 9 in. beneath the surface. The height of the stone above the ground is 4 ft.; the width varies from 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. 5 in., the greatest width being in the middle. Where the size of the upper portion of the stone is reduced by the piece being broken off, it is 5½ in. thick; the remainder is 9 in. thick.

¹ Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britannice Christianae*, Nos. 24 and 25.

² *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlv, p. 325.

In addition to the Ogams there is an inscription in Latin capitals, which is quite distinct. It is cut in four horizontal lines, and reads thus :



The Ogams are cut on the right hand angle of the stone, and read from the bottom upwards, as follows :



This is merely a repetition of the Latin legend.¹ There is no difficulty about the reading as far as AVI, but after this it becomes more obscure. The unusual position of the first two strokes of the final R may be explained by the necessity of avoiding cutting the initial I of the Latin inscription. The remaining strokes slope the right way after this difficulty had been got over. It is to be hoped that Prof. Rhys will give some notes on the inscriptions at an early opportunity.

The foregoing report appeared this year in the July Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, accompanied by this plate, for permission to use which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Committee of the Cambrian Archæological Association. Since the account was written I have again visited the stone, and have discovered that a slight error has been made in my reproduction of the Ogam inscription. In the last name the upright letter on the narrow face of the stone, on the right side of the Latin inscription, should have been drawn as a notch on the angle only; thus making four notches in all, equivalent to the letter *e*, as shewn in the diagram given in the letterpress. I also omitted to point out that Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., to whom I sent the rubbings immediately after discovering the stone, must be credited for deciphering the inscription, and for observing the remarkable form of the *r* at the end of it, wherein the first two strokes of the letter slope the wrong way, for the reason already given.

The word MEMORIA in the Latin inscription is curious, and there is a great temptation to read the legend as TO THE MEMORY OF INCENVVS. If this translation were correct, the Latin to correspond should be INCENVI MEMORIAE; but as there have obviously never been any letters beyond the side of the stone, such a reading as suggested is, therefore, quite inadmissible.

Prof. Rhys, to whom I afterwards sent the rubbings, very kindly wrote to me on the subject, and as his opinion is of so much value, I have taken the liberty of inserting some of his remarks in connection with the word MEMO-

¹ The only differences being that the Ogam inscription begins IG instead of INC, the A of AVI is missing in the Latin version, and the final IA in the Ogams.

RIA, especially that portion regarding the absence of the *e*.

It is in my opinion far better not to read a word at all, than to read it incorrectly, simply for the sake of making a translation of the whole legend, for which there is no justification. For the present, then, I at least must be content to let MEMORIA remain MEMORIA, without offering any solution as to the meaning of the word.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 16TH NOVEMBER 1892.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following were duly elected :—

Geo. Fuller, Esq., Crisp Lodge, 211 Romford Road, Stratford
A. Hessel Tentman, Esq., Torrington Square, London
Rev. David Bowen, B.A., Monkton, Pembroke
Edw. Seward, Esq., 55 Newport Road, Cardiff
Edw. Jenkins Williams, 15 Queen Street, Cardiff

Mr. J. P. Harrison, and Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., were elected Members of Council.

Senr. D. J. Gestoso, of Seville, was unanimously elected an Hon. Foreign Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents :—

To the Powys-Land Club, for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xxvi, Part I, 1892; No. 51, 1892.

To the Royal Archæological Institute, for "Archæological Journal", vol. xlix, Nos. 193, 194. 1892.

To the Middlesex Natural History and Science Society, for "Transactions", 1889-90, 1890-91.

To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for "Transactions", 1890-91, 1891-92.

To the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for "Proceedings", 1891, vol. xvii, New Series.

To the Cambrian Archæological Association, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Nos. 35, 36 (5th Series), July, Oct. 1892.

To the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Proceedings", Parts II, III, vol. ii, 5th Series, 1892.

- To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, for "Proceedings", Oct. 1888-May 1889; "Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials in St. Michael's Church, 1538-1837."
- To the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, for "Archæologia Æliana", vol. xv, Part III, New Series, 1892.
- To the Royal Dublin Society*, for "Transactions", vol. iv, 2nd Series, Parts 9-13; "Proceedings", vol. vii, New Series, Parts 3, 4.
- To the Smithsonian Institution*, for "Bibliography of the Algonquin Languages", by James E. Pilling, 1891, 8vo.; "Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1890"; "Contributions to Knowledge", vol. xxviii, 1892.
- To the Society of Antiquaries*, for "Proceedings", vol. xiv, No. I; and "Archæologia", vol. liii, Part I.
- To the Sussex Archæological Society*, for "Collections", vol. xxxviii, 1892.
- To the Kent Archæological Society*, for "Archæologia Cantiana" (General Index), vol. xix.
- To A. D. Welde French, Esq.*, for "Index Armorial to a MS. of the Surname of French". 1892.
- To Henry Littlehales, Esq.*, for "The Prymer of the Laity", Part II, 1892.
- To Percy G. Stone, Esq.*, for "Antiquities of the Isle of Wight", Part IV.
- To the Archæological Society of Brussels*, for "Proceedings", vols. 1891, 1892.
- To the Society of Antiquaries de la Morinie*, for a collection of publications relating to archæological subjects.

Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, drew attention to the lamented death of Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., V.P., and proposed a vote of condolence and sympathy with the widow and family, which was adopted unanimously.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, drew attention to excavations for new buildings at Water Street, part of the old Bridewell, which reveals a series of four arches of light red brick, and read the following notes :—

DISCOVERY OF A PORTION OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF OLD BRIDEWELL, LONDON.

Having heard from Messrs. Mowlem, who are now engaged in building operations at Water Street, Blackfriars, that some curious arches had been found during the progress of their works, I lost no time to inspect what had been met with.

I found that excavations in rapid progress for the new building to be erected, had laid open to observation a long length of ancient foundations of very unusual description. This forms the whole of the western boundary of the site, and goes north and south. It consists

of a series of arches of bright red bricks, upon which a massive wall (now removed) had been erected. These arches, which are four in number, with portions of two others, rest upon groups of piles formed of trunks of unbarked elm-trees about 11 in. in diameter. These have been driven into black earth, evidently a portion of what was once part of the bed of the river Thames, and unfit for carrying a heavy building. There being no sign of fracture from the process of driving, it appears that the piles must have been driven to their assigned depth, and their heads then cut to a level line. Each group consists of three rows, each of four piles. The arches, which are of depressed, pointed form, are two bricks thick on face, and have a rise of about 2 ft. The thickness was about 4 ft. 6 in., having been arranged to carry a wall three bricks thick. Above the piles the arches sprang, not from brickwork, but from a solid mass of chalk, which had been neatly cut to form the skewbacks of the arches. The spandrels were also filled up with chalk to the level of the top of the arches, and upon this mass the wall was carried up, with two sets-off, to the thickness already named, in the same bright red brickwork; the whole thickness, and not the facing merely, being thus formed. Traces remain, at the beginning of the excavation, of the base of the wall, which appears to extend farther to the north, in the direction of Tudor Street; but the southern end now stops at the new building at the end of Water Street. The extreme northern end is 70 ft. south from the present frontage of the houses on the south side of Tudor Street. A portion of a chamfered plinth of Caen stone has been cut through at this point, and it appears to continue beneath the adjoining unexcavated land.

Other return and cross-walls exist below the site, not yet touched, and these will be laid open in a few weeks.

The frontage of the wall looked south, and the plinth was on this side. The bricks are solidly bedded in mortar, so that it is impossible to remove them whole. The work is a very good specimen of building construction, and it is without question a portion of old Bridewell, erected in the reign of King Henry VIII. They are laid in an irregular bond, approaching to "Old English", and in two places a layer of newer tiles has been inserted for some unexplained cause.

An encaustic tile, of fourteenth century date, 4 in. square, with a yellow, floriated pattern on a red ground, was found in progress of the works.

The bulk of the work discovered had to be demolished for the insertion of the concrete for the south wall of the new building; but a portion of the thickness, which extends beyond the limits of the site, still remains along the whole of the line, buried in the adjoining land.

The Chairman exhibited an old key of the church chest at South Creak, of fine design, and in good preservation, with a hollow space in the shaft holding a ball.

Mr. A. G. Langdon exhibited the rubbing of an Ogam stone found in Cornwall, the only one found in that county, and read notes on it which we have printed above at p. 336.

Mr. J. R. Allen, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited brass seals of Kelso Abbey and Sonnebecke, in the diocese of Ypres; also a collection of bronze implements, of which he promised to send notes hereafter.

Mr. Allen then read a paper on "Early Christian Monuments of Glamorganshire", illustrated with a large series of photographs, which it is hoped will be printed in a future volume.

Mr. Brock read the following notes by Dr. Alfred C. Fryer:—

"Celt found near Swansea.—I have pleasure in exhibiting a small stone celt which was found in the neighbourhood of Black Pill, on Swansea Bay. Near this hamlet, where the celt was found, are still to be seen the blackened stumps of a submerged forest. The celt measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, and is $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in width."

"Discovery at North Curry, near Taunton.—While excavations were being made for the foundation of a cross in the churchyard of North Curry, a silver penny of Ethelred II was discovered about 2 ft. from the surface. It bears on the obverse a bust of the King, and the inscription, 'Ædelraed Rex Anglor.'; and on the reverse a cross extends to the margin, and 'Brynsige Mo Pint', showing that the coin was struck at Winchester, and that Brynsige was the moneyer. The coin has been presented to the Taunton Museum by Prebendary Buller."

"Discovery at Horrabridge, Devonshire.—During the removal of two cottages at Horrabridge, for the site of a new church, evidences have been found which point to the existence of a chapel on that locality. In fact, there is a tradition that there was once a chapel in that neighbourhood, dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The jambs and heads of a granite doorway, the mutilated heads of several windows, a curious old corbel, and a fragment of stained glass, have been discovered. It is gratifying to know that they will be used in the new building, thus connecting the new nineteenth century church of St. John the Baptist with the old fifteenth century chapel of that dedication."

WEDNESDAY, 7TH DEC. 1892.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thomas Blashill, Esq., was elected Vice-President in place of J. W. Grover, Esq., deceased.

Mr. W. J. Nichols, Bromley, was elected a Member of Council.

Wm. Fergusson Irvine, Esq., Liverpool

Rev. F. Sanders, Hoylake

Geo. Frater, Esq., Wrexham

were elected Hon. Local Correspondents.

Mr. Brock, *Hon. Sec.*, F.S.A., read the following notes :—

THE CHURCH OF S. MARY THE VIRGIN, MIDDLETON-ON-THE-HILL,
HEREFORDSHIRE.

BY REV. G. J. MINOS, CURATE-IN-CHARGE.

On Wednesdays and Fridays, before and after the hours for private prayer, I am in the habit of scrutinising the architecture, etc., of the ancient parish church, probably late Saxon and early Norman. While doing so I noticed (in June of this year) evidences of fresco on the walls supporting the chancel-arch. These for a time appeared in detached, faint marks of vermilion, but on damp days would show outlines of designs.

The fresco (lime) plaster is as thin as paper, and the vermilion paint seemed in most places to have penetrated through the plaster, and stained the stone under the plaster. After a little steaming of the walls, continued outlines of designs began showing.

About the first week in July last I accidentally noticed the form of a chalice, 7 in. high, on the north wall supporting the chancel-arch. This I carefully watched under different lights. After thoroughly satisfying myself of its form, I showed the outline to several parishioners and visitors, who pronounced it to be undoubtedly that of a chalice. Very near this chalice, on the right hand, the outline of a Maltese cross in a circle (about 3 in.) is clearly visible. Some more this design are to be seen near and far from the chalice. Therefore the Maltese cross in a circle, I presume, is the design of the fresco; but what about the chalice?

Knowing that to consecrate a church (in olden days as well as in our own) without a celebration of the Holy Eucharist, the greatest act of Christian worship, is to sacrifice much of the impressiveness and beauty of such a service, I conclude that the said painted chalice was to commemorate the consecration of (or the first service in) the church. Am I right? What would be the date of the form of chalice?

Mr. J. M. Wood exhibited a black pottery urn from Colchester, found from 3 to 4 ft. below the surface when laying a trench for a water-main; also a Samian fragment; and a piece of fayence.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited, from Bankside, near the site of the Globe Theatre, an iron axe, fragments of a Roman pavement, Roman

vases, horn, parts of a man's skeleton in Roman armour, bottle, horse-shoe, stopper, needle, pin, spoons, spurs, shoes, tobacco-pipes, pieces of mail-armour, coins of Trajan, Gallienus, and Tetricus ; a few coins of mediæval, seventeenth century, European ; and Egyptian beads.

Mr. Brock exhibited, on the part of the Rev. David Bowen of Monkton, Pembroke, a photograph of his church, now restored ; of the two chancels, one is still in ruins, but he hopes to repair it eventually.

Mr. T. Sheraton sent an imperfect bronze celt found at Llandudno.

Mr. Brock exhibited a fifteenth century bound book with stamped leather and embossed brass clasps and corners, well preserved, dated 1483.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the second part of Mr. Pritchett's paper on Selby Abbey, which has been printed at pp. 285-91.

Mr. Curtis explained the discovery of the fragments of the windows in the triforium, and described the subjects, condition, and age of the glass.

Mr. C. H. Compton, V.P., read Mr. Grover's paper on "How I found the Station of Bibracte", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Architecture of the Churches of Denmark. By MAJOR A. HEALES, F.S.A. (London: Kegan Paul and Co.)—Major Heales says in his introductory remarks, that, in fact, no Englishman interested in archæology appears ever to have visited Denmark. This may be true in the main, but at any rate the author has gathered up in his very interesting work some remarkable and typical forms of Danish church architecture, which will in some respects make amends for the neglect his countrymen have hitherto shown to these things which lie so near to them, and, it is hoped, induce some of us to devote a holiday, often spent in less interesting researches, in a land evidently teeming with novel aspects worthy the attention of the comparative antiquary. Denmark, we are told, is a great country, possessing a marvellous number of ancient churches. Foremost among these is the Cathedral of Roskilde, of the end of the twelfth century, the whole building of which is constructed of brick, occasionally moulded, with the exception of some granite shafts. It is comparable with nothing of the kind in this country. The tall and slender single spires springing from the western towers produce a graceful and unwonted effect upon the eye. Early Runic carving and peculiar details of all kinds abound in these Danish churches, which have been fully illustrated, not only from the author's own collections, but from the works of Professor Löffler and Herr Kjøbke, who with others have produced valuable notices of Danish ecclesiological subjects, but being written in their own language, which is carelessly neglected among us, we are indebted to Major Heales for giving us an insight into their treasures. A return to a universal literary and scientific language appears to be sorely needed now if any real progress in the numerous sciences of the world is to be achieved. It was the universal use of Latin in the mediæval ages that paved the way for the progress of human intelligence in the later days. What that language shall be we must leave others to decide, but we live too quickly now to be able to devote time to acquiring a mastery over eight or ten European languages, hence the Scandinavian group of tongues and their concomitant literature have been put out of sight. It is this which is answerable for our small

acquaintance with their churches. Hence all the more the world of archæology owes Major Heales a debt of thanks for his novel and attractive contribution to historical art.

A History of Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight. By T. W. SHORE, F.G.S. (London: E. Stock.)—The progress of this series of Popular County Histories, published by Mr. Stock, is well marked by this latest addition to the number, of which there are now eight, most of which have been noted in this *Journal*. It would be manifestly impossible in the modest compass of less than 300 pages octavo to give more than a very slight sketch of any county of this kingdom, much less one which deserves to be enumerated among those of the first importance, whether for extent or for wealth of antiquarian remains; but the author has maintained a very even balance, and taken record of almost all the prominent points which occur to those who have prosecuted their researches into so fertile a field. Busy readers, who cannot find time to devote to plodding wearily through the old-fashioned folio histories, which county topographers of a past age delighted to produce, can obtain a fair general idea of an English county in a few hours by consulting this series; although in the case of the county here under notice there is really no genuine old folio history to turn to, and we were constrained to seek for aid from very insufficient publications respecting any topographical point about Hampshire. Mr. Shore has happily digested the extant published literature, but we fear his visits to the Manuscript Department of the British Museum have not been so frequent as they might have been, where, in that division of the Classed Catalogue which is devoted to this subject, he would, for example, have been advertised of the late Sir Frederic Madden's MS. Collections for Portsmouth, and many other laborious compilations which should have been examined. The Winchester Cathedral Codex, in the Additional Series; the Register of Hyde, and the Winchester Corporation Register among the newly-acquired Stowe MSS.; and a large number of court rolls and charters hitherto unexplored, would have opened up a new light, and a fresh interest to him; but it would be foreign to a work which aims at generalisation and conciseness to enter into minute details, and its task is accomplished probably more efficiently in arranging and condensing what is on record already, than in adding more matter to what is ready to hand. The essays on the history of Winchester, Portsmouth, and Southampton are well written, and in some respects treated in a novel manner; and the author may be congratulated on his labours to produce, as he has produced, lucid and trustworthy compilations of Hampshire facts and fancies in an easily-studied book, which deserves to be widely appreciated.

Mr. Stock has also published recently a tastefully-printed work, entitled *Books in Chains, and other Bibliographical Papers*, by the late William Blades, edited by Mr. Wheatley, whose works are always acceptable to a large class of literary folk. This one is no exception to that rule, and introduces to our notice some quaint aspects of mediæval reading life:—And *The Gentleman's Magazine, English Topography, Part II*, edited by Mr. Gomme, containing a large amount of antiquarian notices concerning four counties—Cambridge, Chester, Cornwall, and Cumberland, not so generally known and drawn upon as they ought to be. Mr. Gomme deserves much credit for what must really be a heavy task of classifying and arranging these bygone contributions to local history.

Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages. Translated and edited by ERNEST F. HENDERSON. (London: Bell and Sons.)—A very useful collection of texts, which form the groundwork of any research into the progress of European political influences during the post-Roman period. The Laws of William the Conqueror, The Constitutions of Clarendon, The Magna Charta, The Manner of Holding Parliament, The Rule of St. Benedict and of St. Francis, King John's Concession to the Pope, and The Report of Bishop Luitprand, Ambassador of the Emperors Otto I and II to the Court of Constantinople, are a few among the large number of documents which have been translated. It is to be regretted that explanatory and illustrative notes have not been added, and an index is above all indispensable to such a work; but, apart from this, it is eminently useful to have so handy a collection of deeds, which exist elsewhere only in special works dedicated to one or two single pieces. This ought to become a standard educational work on the especial subject which it takes in hand; but a scholar with any beside a superficial knowledge of the documents would be, perhaps, more willing to turn to more critical editions, the aim of this being only collective and comprehensive.



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REPORT
ON THE
TRANSCRIPTION
AND
PUBLICATION
OF
PARISH REGISTERS, &c.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

1892

Report on the Transcription and Publication of Parish Registers, etc.

The Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries desires to call the attention of the public and especially of those interested in antiquarian research, to the extreme importance of duly preserving and rendering accessible the Registers and other Parish Records of the United Kingdom.

These contain matter of the greatest value not only to the genealogist, but also to the student of local history, and through these to the general historian; it is to be regretted that sufficient care has not been taken in the past of these documents, which have too often been thoughtlessly destroyed.

Many Registers have already been copied and published, and every year adds to the list, and the Congress is in hope that these suggestions may lead to a still greater number being undertaken.

As the older writings are in a different character from that used at the present time, they are not easily deciphered, and require careful examination, even from experts. It is extremely desirable therefore that they should be transcribed, not only to guard against possible loss or injury, but in order to render them more easily and generally accessible to the student.

The Committee appointed by the Congress of 1889 for the purpose of considering the best means of assisting the transcription and publication of Parish Registers and Records was constituted as follows:

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P.S.A., *Chairman.*

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MILL STEPHENSON, B.A., F.S.A.

(*Hon. Sec. Surrey Archæo. Soc.*)

RALPH NEVILL, F.S.A. (*Hon. Sec.*)

The Congress trust that the following paper of Suggestions drawn up by the Committee may prove useful to those anxious to assist in the preservation, transcription and, where possible, publication of the documents referred to.

Suggestions as to Transcription.

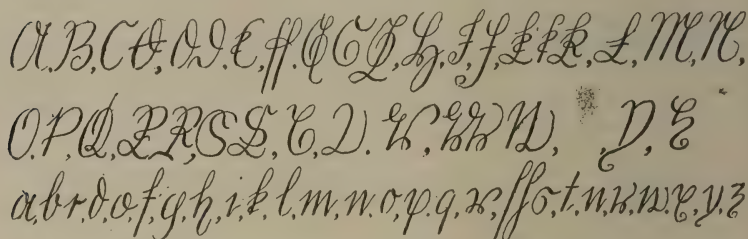
LIMITS OF DATE.

It is evident that there is most reason for transcribing the oldest Registers, but those of later date are also of great value, and it is suggested that 1812, the date of the Act of 52 Geo. III, cap. 146, is a suitable point to which copies may be taken.

CHARACTER OF WRITING.

In transcribing, great care must be used to avoid mistakes from the confusion of certain letters with modern letters of similar form.

An alphabet is adjoined giving some of the ordinary characters, but Registers vary, and the manner in which the capital letters are formed is of infinite variety. It may be noted that capital F resembles two small ff's, but there is no reason whatever for printing it in the latter way; G is a difficult letter running into C and T; K and R are formed exactly alike, except that the direction of the top loop is always reversed; W is formed as two U's or two V's.



Great help in deciphering names may be gained from a study of existing local names. It must, however, be borne in mind that the same name may be continually spelt in different ways, and may undergo considerable changes in the course of time or from the hands of different scribes.

In copying dates it must be remembered that down to 1752, the year began on the 25th of March and not on the 1st of January.

METHOD OF TRANSCRIPTION.

There can be no doubt that a *verbatim et literatim* transcription is of far more value than any other form; it is otherwise impossible to be sure that some point of interest and importance has not been overlooked; the extra trouble of making a complete transcript is small; and the result much more satisfactory. In any case the names should be given *literatim* and all remarks carefully copied, with some indication, where possible, as to the date of the remark. Other records,

such as Churchwardens' Accounts, should certainly not be transcribed and printed otherwise than in full. It is far better in both cases to do a portion thoroughly than the whole imperfectly.

REVISION AND COLLATION OF COPIES.

The decipherment of old Registers is, as already pointed out, a work of considerable difficulty, and it is therefore strongly recommended that in cases where the transcribers have no great previous experience, they should obtain the help of some competent reader to collate the transcript with the original.

It should be remembered that in many cases transcripts are preserved in the Bishops' Registries and a reference to these will often fill up a void, clear up a difficulty or supply an omission. It occasionally happens that the original Registers are preserved as well as later Transcripts; in such cases, the two should be collated and all variations noted.

PUBLICATION.

With regard to the publication of Registers, the Committee have carefully considered the question of printing in abbreviated or index form and have come to the conclusion to strongly recommend that the publication should be in full, not only for the reasons given for transcription, but because the extra trouble and expense is so small and the value so very much greater.

There seems, however, no objection, in either case, to the use of contractions of formal words of constant recurrence. A list of some of these is adjoined:

Bap.: baptized.	Bac.: bachelor.
Mar.: married.	Spin.: spinster.
Bur.: buried.	Wid.: widow or widower.
Dau.: daughter.	

With regard to entries of marriage after Lord Hardwicke's Act of 1752, it is suggested that the form of entry may be simplified by the omission of formal phrases, but care should be taken not to omit any record of fact, however apparently unimportant, such for instance as the names of witnesses, ministers, occupation, etc.

It is essential in all cases that an Index should be given and that the Christian names should be given with the surnames.

It is believed that many Registers remain unprinted owing to an exaggerated idea of the cost of printing and binding. Reasonable estimates for these might, probably, often be obtained from local presses which would be interested in the publication.

No absolute rule as to size and type can be laid down, but on this and other questions the Standing Committee will always be glad to give advice. It is probable that demy octavo or foolscap quarto will be found the most convenient sizes.

A Standing Committee has been appointed by the Congress for the purpose of giving advice and distributing to the various Societies in Union such information and lists as may be of common value to all.

Societies in Union are strongly urged to form their own Committees to take steps to secure the printing of the many Transcripts that already exist unpublished, and to promote further Transcription.

By permission of G. W. Marshall, Esq., LL.D. (Rouge Croix, College of Arms), the accompanying list of Printed Registers has been prepared from the Calendar privately printed by him in 1891. A revised and augmented edition of this Calendar is in progress, and will contain full references to all known printed Registers, Transcripts and Collections, whether complete or consisting of extracts.

The Committee also issue a list of MS. Transcripts and propose to prepare and issue further lists from time to time. They therefore ask that information may be sent to them, or to the Secretaries of County Societies, of any Transcripts in private hands. The inclusive dates of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials should be given, and any complete Transcript will be calendared, although extending over a short period only, but Extracts will not be admissible.

The Committee suggest that lists of existing Transcripts, with full particulars of the location of the Transcript, should be kept by the County Societies, and where possible, in order to avoid risk of loss, it is very desirable that such Transcripts should be deposited, either temporarily or permanently, in the Libraries of the Societies.

It is believed that the publication of a series of Registers, supplemental and extra to their Transactions, would add to the attractiveness and usefulness of the Societies without being a serious burden to their funds. By combination and organization a considerable body of outside subscribers may probably be secured for such a series, and the cost of distribution of circulars, etc., may be materially reduced by such a plan as the issue, by the Central Committee, of an annual circular containing lists of Registers in course of publication. Such a circular might be distributed by the local Societies and published in their Transactions and elsewhere.

The Standing Committee will be very glad to receive suggestions from Local Committees and others.

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 „ No. 2.—Parish Registers printed in other works.
 „ No. 3.—Original Registers and Bishops' Transcripts
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 „ No. 4.—Registers of other Churches in all classes.
 „ No. 5.—Parish Registers transcribed in MS.
-

No. 1.—A List of Parish Registers that have been printed as separate works.

*Extracted by permission from "Parish Registers," privately printed by
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WEST HALLAM, Rev. C. W. Kerry,
Jour. Derby Arch. Soc. 1887
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- LINCOLNSHIRE. HORNCASTLE, from 1639, J. C. Hudson (*see also*
No. 1 list), Par. Mag., 1892.
- LONDON. BERMONDSEY, from 1598, Genealogist, New Ser.
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Ser. iv. and v.
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Proc.
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No. 3.—Original Registers and Bishops' Transcripts in the British Museum Library.

ORIGINAL REGISTERS.

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 Rome, *Middleton.*
 S. India, *Thurston.*
 Spoonley Wood (Gloucester), *Middleton.*
 Surrey, *Leveson-Gower.*
 Sussex, *Michell-Whitley.*
 Westmorland, *Ferguson (Chancellor).*
 Romsey (Hants), *Davies.*
 Roscommon Castle, *Murphy.*
 Rotherham (Yorks), *Brooke.*
 Ruddert (Saint), *Frazer.*
 Ruyton (Shropshire), *Kenyon.*
- Saalburg, *Price.*
 St. Albans (Herts), *Clarkson, Fowler.*
Waller.
 St. Cuthbert's Chapel (Northumb.), *Crossman.*
 St. Neots (Corn.), *Lefroy.*
 St. Reyne, *Norris.*
 St. White, *Norris.*
 Salzburg (Austria), *Frazer.*
 Samoan stories, *Abercromby.*
 Savaric, Bishop, *Church.*
 Sawston Hall, *Middleton.*
 Saxby (Leic.), *Cox.*
- SAXON REMAINS, *Montagu, Sawyer.*
 Cornwall, *Iago.*
 East Sheffield, *Money.*
 Saxby, *Cox.*
 Scarborough (Yorks), *Hope.*
 Scotland, *see* Edinburgh, Glasgow,
 Hawick, Melrose.
- SCULPTURE, *Holmes, Simonds.*
 Alabaster panels, *Bensly.*
 Christian (early), *Allen.*
 Sicilian Museum, *Munro.*
 Wooden figures, *Barrow-in-Furness,*
Hartshorne.
- SEALS, *Cox, Eyre, Nightingale, Porter,*
Ware.

- Selattyn (Shropshire), *Bulkeley Owen.*
 Selwyn family, *Codrington.*
 Seville (Spain), *Clarke.*
 Sheffield, East (Berks), *Money.*
 Shenfield (Essex), *Chancellor.*
 Shengay, *Shimield.*
 Shrewsbury, *Blakeway, Drinkwater, Phillips.*
 Shropshire, *Phillips*; *see* Ruyton, Selattyn, Shrewsbury, Titterstone, Willey.
 Silchester (Hants), *Fox and Hope, Jones.*
 Simonside Hills (Northumb.), *Dixon.*
 Sligo, *Milligan.*
 Sneepe (Northumb.), *Hedley.*
 Someries (Herts), *Fowler.*
 Somerset, *Allen, Clarke (J. F. M.), Hobhouse*; *see also* Barrington, Bath, Beckery, Bruton, Crewkerne, Ford, Glastonbury, Ilchester, Keynsham, Pitney, Wells.
 Southampton, *Skelton.*
 Southwark (Surrey), *Dollman.*
 Spain, *Clarke.*
 Speen (Berks), *Money.*
 Spoonley Wood (Gloucester), *Middleton.*
 Sporting, *Wilson.*
 Staddon Heights (Devonshire), *Rowe.*
 Stafford, *Willson.*
 Staffordshire, *Bridgeman, Wrottesley*; *see also* Blymhill, Lichfield.
 Stamford Bridge (Yorks), *Leadman.*
 Stoke D'Abernon (Surrey), *Stephenson.*
 Streatham (Surrey), *Tarver.*
 Strelley family, *Kerry.*
 Strode family, *Batten, Helyar.*
 Suffolk, Henry, Duke of, *Clark.*
 Surrey, *Cooper, Crisp, Howard, Lewis, Williamson*; *see also* Battersea, Beddington, Capel, Croydon, Guildford, Limpsfield, Ockley, Richmond, Southwark, Stoke D'Abernon, Streatham, Wandsworth, Wimbledon.
 Sussex, *André, Codrington, Fenton, Michell-Whitley*; *see also* Arlington, Eastbourne, Hastings, Lewes, Town-creep, West Grinstead.
 Swallowfield, *Russell.*
 Sweden, *Perry.*
 Sword belts, *Hartshorne.*
- Tanagra, *Rome.*
 Tavistock (Devon), *Alford.*
 Teignmouth (Devonshire), *Lake, Rowe.*
 Tewkesbury, *Porter.*
 Thebes (Egypt), *Budge.*
 Thomond, *Westropp.*
 Thompson (S.), *Howard.*
 Tintagel (Cornw.), *Iago.*

- Tiptofts (Essex), *Middleton*.
 Titterstone Camp (Shropshire), *Lines*.
 Tobacco, *Hall, Hardy*.
 Tower of London, the, *Dillon*.
 Towers, round, *Bagnall-Oakeley*.
 Towncreep (Sussex), *Tatham*.
 Transilvania, *Haverfield*.
 Trefusis, *Jeffrey*.
 Truro (Cornwall), *Tregellas, Whitley*.
 Tynemouth Castle (Northumb.), *Adamson*.
 Union Jack, *Green*.
 Vergil (P.), *Ferguson*.
 Vergil (Saint), *Frazer*.
 Veysy family, *Atkinson*.
 Vincent (Aug.), *Howard*.
 Wakefield (Yorks), *Leadman, Walker*.
 Wallingford (Berks), *Harrison, Hedges, Sayer-Milward*.
 Wandsworth (Surrey), *Kershaw, Stephen-son*.
 Warwickshire, *Fretton*; see also *Arden, Bidford*.
 Water supply, ancient systems, *Berry*.
 Wells (Somerset), *Buckle, Church*.
 West Meon, *Nisbett*.
 Westminster, *Dillon*.
 Westmorland, *Cowper, Taylor*.
 Whaplode (Linc.), *Foster, Grueber*.
 Wheathampstead (Herts), *Davys*.
 Wight, Isle of, see *Hants*.
 Willey (Shropshire), *Bridgeman*.
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 William II., *Crowther*.
 Willibald (Saint), *Brownlow*.
 Wills, *Crisp, Duignan, Manning, Soames*.
 Wilts, *Lewis, Greenwell*; see also *Ivy-church, Lacock, Manningford Abbas, Ramsbury, Woodyates*.
 Wimbledon (Surrey), *Jackson, Nevill*.
 Winsford Hill (Devonshire), *Rhys*.
 Winwood (Yorks), *Leadman*.
 Withycombe Raleigh (Devonshire), *Brushfield*.
 Witney (Oxon), *Crowther, Norris*.
 Woodyates (Wilts), *Garson*.
 Workington (Cumberland), *Calverley*.
 Wulfgate of Donnington, *Duignan*.
 Yanwath (Cumberland), *Dymond*.
 York, *Fowler*.
 Yorke (Sir J.), *Clode*.
 Yorkshire, *Brown, Greenwell*; see also *Bramham Moor, Cridling Park, Doncaster Deanery, Elland, Heathfield, Howden, Marston Moor, Nostell, Osgoldcross, Wapentake, Ripon, Rotherham, Scarborough, Stamford Bridge, Wakefield, Winwood, York*.
 Yorkshire (E. R.), *Allen*.
 Youngsbury (Herts), *Evans (J)*.



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